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# commonweal

# CONTRACEPTION AND THE COUNCIL

***A fresh analysis, a new framework***

*John T. Noonan, Jr.*

## THE SHADOW OF PERON

*Jaime Potenze*

## THE BOGART VOGUE

*Gerald Weales*

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# NEWS AND VIEWS

A month ago, the House of Representatives quietly appropriated another year's funds for the Committee on Un-American Activities. In a year when government support for schoolchildren's milk is being cut drastically, one might think that the Committee might get a little less cash—or at least not more. But no, its appropriation was increased by $55,000 over last year's. Is this money needed for the Committee's investigation of the Klan? Well, the House appropriated a special $50,000 for that purpose last April. Of course it cost a lot to expose the Communist menace in Chicago last summer. . . .

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"It is possible for a Southerner to criticize his region in the harshest possible terms, not because he thinks the South is worse than the rest of the country and can only be saved by the Berkeley-Cambridge axis but for the exactly opposite reason: that, in spite of her failures, he suspects that it may very likely fall to the destiny of the South to save the country from the Berkeley-Cambridge axis. If this should prove the case, it is not simply because cities like Los Angeles and New York are exhibiting an almost total paralysis and fecklessness when confronted with Watts and Harlem, while at the same time Atlanta and Greenville are doing comparatively better. (Truthfully I think the South is 'doing better' for an odd mixture of Southern and Northern reasons, none of which have much to do with Christianity, for example, Southern good humor and social grace plus a sharp Yankee eye for the dollar and the 'public image.') No, the criticism is leveled and the game is worth the candle because, at least in the Southerner's opinion, the ultimate basis for racial reconciliation must be theological rather than legal and sociological and that in the South, perhaps more than in any other region, the civil and secular consciousness is still sufficiently informed by a theological tradition to provide a sanction for racial reconciliation." Walker Percy in *Katallagete*, Journal of the Committee of Southern Churchmen.

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Last November the U.S. Treasury Department prohibited the import of human hair or wigs from Asia, the general idea being to keep out goods from Communist China, North Korea and North Vietnam. Now, after rumors that European wigs were mixing Asian and European hair, the Department has put an embargo on hair from France, Britain, Italy and West Germany. To get around the embargo, an importer must satisfy the Treasury Department by showing that all the hair in European wigs actually came from European heads. This would require an "acceptable certificate of origin," but the government says they are not currently available. Hair from Spain does not come under the embargo, since Treasury Department researchers have concluded that Franco is not peddling Chinese hair.

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From the column of Jack O'Brian, gossip columnist for the Hearst papers: "Conservative Catholics (led by Brent Bozell, former Bill Buckley associate) are organizing a new magazine to 'offset' the very Liberal *Commonweal*—to emphasize that *Commonweal* is not an 'official' Church publication, as many think. . ."

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We couldn't help noticing—unofficially, of course—an item further down in the Jack O'Brian column just mentioned. After referring to Mr. and Mrs. Perry Como and Cardinal Spellman, O'Brian wrote: "these are fine human beings, a credit to decent show business—and the whole community."

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*Yellow Sheet*, one of the reactionary mimeographed sheets that appear now and then to save the Church from the Council, has discovered that its local diocesan paper has a Unitarian on the payroll. Naturally incensed, YS cried: "Should we assume that the_____ staff which includes Father_____ didn't know this man's credentials? Maybe we're worse off than we thought . . . . Can we assume_____is eating out of the collection plate? How many other questionable associations is this diocese supporting?"

•

From the class notes of a professor teaching fourth-year theological students at St. Mary's seminary in Baltimore:

"One of the hardest problems the individual priest meets today and one of the most difficult the Church at large must face is contraception. We part company with many people on the most fundamental issues. They treat man from a biological-material viewpoint alone, i.e., he is just another animal. . . . In fact, they say, the individual should not be *allowed* to follow, e.g., the teaching of the Catholic Church; for the common good, the State should impose laws of birth prevention, sterilization, etc. . . .

"All this is sheer materialism or secularism at its worst! It is atheistic or deistic, or at least non-theological, non-philosophical, *non-scientific* and unreal. It is also totalitarianism. . . There are also, however, many people practicing B. C. today who do believe in God. . . .They are infected by the false ideas around them and the effect is *worldliness* and *selfishness* in these people. Many Catholics belong to this group. . . .

"Two thirds of the world is suffering from hunger? No. . . . No part of the world is constantly hungry, i.e., actual shortage of calories, although the diet may be dull. . . . India? Gandhi said they were lazy; pressure would be good for them. . . . Japan doing well on a small bit of land because of fertilizers and scientific plant breeding. How many can live on this planet? 28 billion; on a Jap diet, 95 billion." JOHN LEO



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# CORRESPONDENCE

### *Cuban Refugees*

Miami, Fla.

*To the Editors:* In the November 19 issue of COMMONWEAL Mr. C. K. Yearley wrote about the impact of Cuban refugees on Miami. I have spent the last five years working with these refugees. During most of that time I have been Diocesan Director of Catholic Charities. I am the Executive Director of the Cuban Children's Program—the agency which has assisted 14,130 children to enter the United States and has provided foster care for 7,196 of them in thirty-five states. I was recently appointed Chairman of the Diocesan Commission on Cuban Refugees of the Diocese of Miami.

In the interests of historical accuracy and also to correct some unfortunate impressions that readers of COMMONWEAL might get from Mr. Yearley's article, I would like to point out the following points where I believe he is in error.

1. The exodus began in 1959—not 1958.

2. Number of Cubans in Miami: The best estimate is that there are 80,000 Cuban refugees living in Miami. Altogether about 180,000 have come to Miami since January 1, 1959. Mr. Yearley's estimate of nearly 240,000 is too high.

3. "To native Floridians, not yet accustomed to the hundreds of thousands of Cubans already in their midst. . . ." This is a gross exaggeration.

4. " 'Parole' status negates development of any vigorous spirit of resettlement. . . ." There is no evidence to suggest that those with permanent resident visas have been any more willing to resettle than those without.

The fact is that some "parolees," for example, doctors, dentists, beauticians, have resettled because as "parolees" they could practice their trade or profession in other places and not in Florida.

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# THE PRICE OF VIETNAM

At least on paper, the Great Society Saigon-style is not unpleasant to contemplate. An independent South Vietnam, bristling with democratic politics and social reform, harnessing its natural resources in cooperation with its neighbors to the north and west, and signalling to China the existence of other wills in the world. The problem with this dream is twofold: (a) the chances of its accomplishment are infinitesimal; and (b) the costs of its pursuit are enormous.

The full range of those costs is seldom considered. In the last two years, the war in Vietnam has cost the U.S. around $15 billion, and estimates of the number of years such expenditure could continue go anywhere from 7 to 15. Historians may wonder at the sense of proportion of a nation which spends $52,500 to kill one guerrilla on the other side of the world. But these figures are essentially meaningless until they are placed in the context of alternative uses for the same resources. The War on Poverty in America, for example, involves as many people as inhabit both North and South Vietnam combined. Its outcome is considerably more under American control than the war in Asia. Yet its funds (less than 1/7 of the annual Vietnam expenditure) are restricted by the war.

A UN consultant has estimated that 10 to 12 million Indians may starve to death as a result of India's current famine, a number approaching the entire population of South Vietnam. Yet President Johnson's Food for Freedom program to combat world hunger will only spend $1.6 billion this year and twice that in future years. George Woods, president of the World Bank and no flaming utopian, recently argued that developing nations need up to $4 billion more in aid each year than they are now getting. Yet the percentage of America's wealth devoted



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to non-military foreign aid continues to drop. The next budget requests only about $2.5 billion, and a good part of that goes to ameliorating the havoc wreacked by our military expenditures in Vietnam.

Nevertheless, the dollar-and-cents costs, however great they may be, still don't compare with the subtler and almost hidden political costs. Political resources too are limited, and those expended in one area are not available for another area. When questioned about the many past errors in Vietnamese policy, Arthur Schlesinger recently reminded his audience that the government was busy with other problems, such as Cuba, Berlin, and the nuclear-test ban. What Schlesinger might have added is that today, while the President and the State Department are concentrating on Vietnam, American initiative (other than nay-saying de Gaulle) in European policy is nil, American policy in Latin America is disastrous, and America's last chance to stop the proliferation of nuclear weapons may be slipping by. The hearings of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee on Vietnam have attracted national attention. Will there be any room left in the headlines when the Foreign Relations Committee takes up the subject of American policy toward South Africa? Even on the domestic front, the Vietnam issue has diluted and sometimes divided the political forces which have propelled the civil rights and anti-poverty movements.

These are the costs of Vietnam. They are not all the costs. The Vietnamese, on both sides of the struggle as well as the civilians, are paying even more dearly. But ultimately Americans cannot evaluate the Vietnamese sacrifice. We can evaluate our own. We know that the U.S. has multiple foreign policy goals and, despite America's riches, limited means. Given the controverted, and ambiguous nature of U.S. goals in Southeast Asia, as well as the slim chance of achieving them, the proportion of American means invested there is dismaying.

## PACKAGED TRUTH

In a recent study conducted by East Michigan University, thirty-three college-educated housewives were asked to buy the most economical package (largest quantity for the price) for each of twenty products on sale at a selected supermarket. The women made 660 separate buying decisions, of which 284 were wrong. That is, in better than two out of five cases, fairly well-educated women were unable to unravel the tangle of misleading claims in packaging. As a result they paid 11 percent more for their shopping than they had to, a margin which can be chalked up to the gouging of tricky packagers.

The shabby practices by now are well known: odd number weights, often fractional, that make calculation of real value difficult; "cents off" offers that are sometimes fraudulent; deceptive and over-large "air space" packaging; and the abuse of ordinary language (one manufacturer of loose-leaf filler promises 300 pages for 59 cents, but delivers only 150 sheets—both sides of a sheet are counted as pages). The most common products come in a bewildering variety of weights—a check of one market showed 28 different weights in a section of detergent products. In some cases, contrary to claims about "the large economy size," housewives were actually paying more per ounce on larger sizes than on smaller non-economy sizes. What we need here is a rational system of weights and measures to serve the consumer and make it possible for him to approach the A&P without a slide rule.

The President's consumer counsel, Mrs. Esther Peterson, has said that the increase in the cost-of-living index "is insignificant compared to the savings that appear possible through more rational packaging." To organized labor, whose gain in collective bargaining often amounts to a raise of one or two percent, she pointed out that "what is won at the bargaining table can easily be lost at the bargaining counter."

In his State of the Union address, President Johnson asked Congress to "act to prevent the deception of the American consumer, requiring all packages to state clearly and truthfully their contents." The reference is to the bill prepared for that purpose by Senator Philip Hart of Michigan. Senator Hart has held hearings on truth-in-packaging for four years, during which time the food and household goods companies have made virtually no efforts to put their own house in order. His bill should be passed.

## CHRISTIANITY & CRISIS

As we have often lamented to our readers, the lot of small-circulation journals of opinion is not easy. They usually start on a shoe-string, go through a series of financial crises, and almost never achieve a large circulation. What they sometimes achieve, however, is worth all the struggle: they become indispensable. *Christianity and Crisis,* now celebrating its twenty-fifth anniversary, has become one of the few journals which the nation could not afford to lose.

To enumerate the contributions of *Christianity and Crisis* over the years would take pages. But two or three



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stand out. Their first contribution was to oppose the utopian pacifism and isolationism which marked much American religious thought at the outbreak of World War II. Under the leadership of Reinhold Niebuhr, *Christianity and Crisis* cut through what Dr. Niebuhr describes in the February 21 anniversary issue as the "complacency and irresponsibility of American neutralism in the face of the Nazi threat."

This spirit of "Christian realism" has been a mark of its work ever since. It was displayed in a second great contribution during the election campaign of John F. Kennedy in 1960. More than any other Protestant journal *Christianity and Crisis* helped to bring sanity and balance to the once-troubling problem of Catholicism and American democracy. A third important contribution is now being made. As John C. Bennett explains in the anniversary issue, *Christianity and Crisis* is "highly critical of the American Government's policy of belligerence in Vietnam." This position, Dr. Bennett argues, is consistent with the journal's Christian realism.

We happen to agree with this, but that is less important than the fact that, in the words of Dr. Niebuhr, there is exhibited a combination of "moral imperatives and moderate moral discrimination." We have all learned from the way the editors have attempted to achieve the "combination" over the years. We salute their work.

## MACBETH IN AFRICA

Western impatience with African politics is understandable if unfortunate. Doris Lessing, the British writer who was reared in Southern Rhodesia, once compared the turbulence, intrigue and corruption of African nationalist politics to the state of the British realm during the Elizabethan period. Perhaps it is our refusal to admit the father of the son, the anarchy of European nationalism out of which our comparative stability developed, that blinds us to Africa's genuine political problems, which would tax the most mature political leadership.

Anyway, the comparison bears remembering. Westerners are prone to see in the coups, dictatorships, indeed in the whole parlous nature of African independence, a confirmation of the unique political genius of North Atlantic peoples. Actually, the political and territorial make-up of the African continent is still largely undefined. Of the 40 some territorial divisions now existent, many are necessarily temporary. Those still in colonial status, and surely Rhodesia and South Africa, have yet to undergo profound political changes. Complicating matters further, are tribalism and regionalism, cold-war pressures, and the psychological need to achieve some final visionary state of de-colonialization.

One of the most irritating habits of African leaders, to Westerners, is their tendency to embark on foreign adventures, often, it seems, to the neglect of serious domestic problems. Kwame Nkrumah, over-thrown last month in Ghana, was in this respect especially grating on American sensibilities, perhaps more for his upstart pretensions than the cranky anti-Americanism. In any case, the State Department can hardly be said to have concealed its glee over the coup.

Yet Nkrumah's career, despite his plunge into the politics of personality cult, cannot be explained entirely in terms of power lust, arbitrariness, and wasted opportunities. These elements were all present in good measure. But so, as with many African leaders, were the problems of national unification, of attracting foreign investments without being open to the charge of neo-colonialism, and, connected with this, the largely misunderstood problem of competing with other African figures. A similar problem plagues Arab leaders, who almost without exception must compete with the figure of Nasser to stay in power at home. Inherent in all of this is the multiplication of enemies, which has graver consequences in an environment of heightened nationalism.

No African leader can afford to ignore the international scene, much less continental politics; he can be certain nobody else will. On the other hand, few African leaders can afford to play at all. The rub is quite effective in widening the gap between political rhetoric and the reality. The national armies which have taken over in half a dozen African states in the past two years cannot be expected to change this much. There is some reason to hope, however, that they represent something different from the Latin American experience of military juntas.

Perhaps the best thing that can be wished for is the emergence in these countries of figures akin to President Nasser; the problem for the U.S. is not to get as emotional as the British, for there will be no U.S. to come to our rescue. Unfortunately, the State Department is already showing signs of nervous excitement in pushing for the early recognition of the new Ghana regime. For Africans, who are not enthusiastic about Nkrumah themselves but nonetheless recognize him as one of the chief exponents of Pan-Africanism and anti-colonialism, it must seem like the predictable lumpish hand of Colonel Blimp again.



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## FATHER DUBAY'S UNION

Without doubt, the most dispossessed class in the Church is the lower clergy. They have few practical rights, little public sympathy for their problems, and only the most meager opportunities for bringing their legitimate needs before episcopal or papal eyes. Despite the great range of issues confronted at the Council, little was said or done about the freedom of priests. By contrast, the laity almost have an easy road. They are also dispossessed, but at least everyone knows it and gingerly steps are being taken to remedy their lot.

Someone was bound to step into this vacuum with a practical suggestion. That it should be Father William DuBay, proposing a labor union for priests, is hardly surprising. He has been a special victim of the system. For daring to take a strong stand on racial questions in Los Angeles he has been silenced, rebuked and transferred from one post to another. Now, as a final blow, he has been suspended by Cardinal MacIntyre for his union efforts. In almost any other institution in the Western world, this kind of treatment would meet with an instantaneous public outcry. In the Church it is taken for granted. Almost monthly of late, one priest after another has felt the wrath of an enraged ecclesiastical bureaucracy. To be sure, such cases often get in the papers these days, but only rarely does this make the slightest difference to the axe-wielders. Order. Discipline. Obedience. Tramp, tramp, tramp.

But is a labor union the solution? The idea is not without its attractions, mainly because trade unionism has been one of the most effective means yet devised to give employees a dignity and collective bargaining power which they could never alone command. Since so few in the hierarchy have gone out of their way to upgrade the status of priests, it makes considerable sense that priests might make use of their mutual power to force the issue. Only rarely in history have the haves gladly and voluntarily given rights to the have-nots; so it has been in the Church, a Church all-too-human in its fascination with power and unilateral control. How could anyone, then, deny that a union is the best solution available?

We believe it both can and should be denied. First of all, the very existence of a union would tend to legitimize and further solidify the very different "interests" which now mark the relationship of priests and bishops. Father DuBay is sociologically astute in noting that such disparate interests exist; administrators usually have one set of concerns, and priest "employees" quite another. But this is surely a *defect* in the institutional life of the Church, something the Church must work to do away with. All a union would succeed in doing is to stabilize the defect, giving it even more juridical sanctions. A union would also tend to legitimize the notion that priests are little more than "employees" of the Church. But this is surely a wrong conception of the priesthood, even if the reality of the present situation seems to suggest nothing more exalted than that. A union would institutionalize a de facto evil.

Secondly, it has yet to be proved that the Church totally lacks the inner resources to establish proper and fruitful means of assuring priests rights and liberties. Far more useful, we think, would be an informal association of priests and laymen, working steadily and vigorously to press the issue. Father DuBay would be wise to recognize that the Church has a genius for swallowing its critics, especially those who propose solutions with no real popular base or theological rationale. There is still time, perhaps, for Father DuBay to save himself from the fate of a Gommar DePauw. And still time—perhaps—for the hierarchy to save itself from a general clerical rebellion which would make a union appear the least of possible evils.

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### FOREIGN AFFAIRS

## *RIGHT AND LEFT*

Right and Left mean something as political categories but it is hard to say exactly what. We could not do without them; yet their major effect today is to obscure reality. As a writer in the February 3rd (London) *Times Literary Supplement* remarks, neither Right nor Left today has more than vestigial intellectual content. The Right once meant aristocracy, class, property interests, established religion. What has this to do with Mr. Goldwater? The Left once meant revolution, liberation of the working classes, internationalism, an end to capitalism, free thought—and what has this to do with Mr. Johnson, or with the ADA, the British Labour Party, or for that matter the Communist Party of the Soviet Union?

It has more to do with the Russian Communist Party than with any of the other examples, certainly, which



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is why the Left in Europe and America has been in serious trouble for the last fifty years. The Left, as the same writer rather bitterly remarks, "has been exposed by the Russian Revolution and its consequences to alternate bouts of attraction and repulsion; but, like the Right, it has never been able to face it dispassionately, or to escape from its orbit." Yet neither Communism under Stalin, nor Communism under Leonid Brezhnev, has much to do with the populist liberation the Left historically preached. The New American Left, with its populism and its anarchic overtones, is closer to the old Left tradition, but does the New Left have a future? The United States of the 1960s may be ripe for some unpleasant eventualities but revolution hardly seems among them.

While Left and Right may be unkillable as political categories and indispensable to political polemics, the truth is that modern history has broken free from these distinctions. Right and Left are heavy with the investment of a thousand emotions; but more important is that they define politics in a way that ignores what has been really important and novel in the history of this country. Was Fascism Right or Left? Its appeal was to the middle classes (Right) and to workers (Left). It was nationalist (Right) and socialist (Left). It was racist (Right), anti-bourgeois and "anti-plutocrat" (Left), imperialist (Right) and millinarian (Left). Communism in Russia has been Left in everything except its centralized and arbitrary power, its nationalism, its militarism and military expansiveness, its reliance on secret police terror, its anti-intellectualism, its reactionary aesthetics. Communism in China is Left—except for its racism, its xenophobia, its nationalism, its militarism, etc. (see above). The new Afro-Asian ideologies, the doctrines of "new emerging forces," of perpetual revolution—Indonesia's, Ghana's, Cuba's—professedly are leftist but in fact chiefly resemble that most socialist of the national socialisms, Mussolini's Fascism.

But Mussolini, unlike some of the more recent claimants to revolutionary innovation, was not wholly self-mesmerized. He once said that "Fascism is Mussolini. As a doctrine it contains nothing new. It is a product of the modern crisis—the crisis of men who can no longer remain within the normal bounds of the existing law. You could call it irrationalism."

You could also call it romanticism. The great revolutionary movements of the twentieth century have all been romantic movements—whatever their pretenses to scientific socialism on the one hand, or to super-realism and violence on the other. They all developed out of that romantic, anti-bourgeois, anti-capitalist political and intellectual tradition which had been in rebellion against established European liberal society since before 1848. They all came to power when the liberal system broke down in world war, inflation, or depression. They all preached essentially the same remedy: destroy liberal society so as to "change the world." The new worlds they sought in succession to the old were visionary transformations of human society itself: a stateless international community of workers, a racially purged and economically rationalized Europe, a restored Roman Empire—Mussolini's was the least extravagant of the totalitarianisms, as Italy was the society least affected by its totalitarian experience, treating it as melodrama. The Germans and Russians remorselessly pursued their melodramatic fantasies into vast crimes and calamities.

After the experience of the last half-century, it seems to me that we might do better to put Left and Right aside for a time and identify political movements and arguments by whether they are romantic or not. Mr. Goldwater is a romantic; so is Fidel Castro; the official American interpretation of the meaning of the war in Vietnam is romantic; so is China's official fantasy of the "rural world" encircling and destroying the "urban" centers of neo-imperialism. Ho Chi Minh, on the other hand, would appear to be a political rationalist; so is General Franco; so is Marshal Tito. One virtue of this system is that semantic bias is minimized.

One can hardly have a decent politics without romanticism. Visionary programs, belief in redemptive political change, are indispensable to any society which is not to stultify and decay. But within romanticism is the impulse to break free of "the normal bounds," the impulse of irrationalism, the impulse, as Mussolini also remarked of himself and Hitler, to "surrender ourselves to our illusions like lunatics." WILLIAM PFAFF


REFORMING THE PARISH

A Special Issue

Our issue of March 25 will be devoted entirely to the pressing problems of American parish life. What does it need? Who should run the parishes? Finances? Community Service? Preaching? Structure?

Contributors will include Father Gerard S. Sloyan, Joseph Cunneen, Rev. Martin Marty, Daniel Callahan, Leonard Swidler, Father Daniel Mallette, Michael Schiltz and Doris Grumbach. The editors of COMMONWEAL will present their own blueprint for the parish.




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## ALL THINGS CONSIDERED

# ARE CITIES LIVABLE?

President Johnson finally dropped the other shoe some weeks ago and made the long-delayed appointment of Robert C. Weaver as secretary of the new cabinet-level Department of Housing and Urban Development. President Kennedy tried to create such a post in 1961; word that he intended to appoint Mr. Weaver, a Negro, to head it was a large part of the reason Congress refused to go along. The way the political climate has changed is illustrated by the fact that in 1966 Mr. Weaver's confirmation by the Senate was unanimous.

At the oath-taking, President Johnson listed some of the problems facing the city—housing shortages, urban sprawl, air pollution, crime, the breakdown of essential public services—but he insisted that the cause of the city was not lost. "A powerful and prosperous nation—blessed with the human and national resources at our command—must not fail in its most vital quest: to improve the quality of life for 135 million people who inhabit its cities," Mr. Johnson said. "To make our cities livable will require the commitment of our best minds, our selfless determination, our willingness to explore new ways of building, new dimensions of planning, new methods of coordinating what we know about man and his environment."

In short, we are going to have to do a lot better than we have been doing, or our cities and life in them will get uglier and uglier every year. Cities differ; I think I could tell the difference between Chicago, say, and New York with my eyes closed. But almost without exception America's cities have one thing in common: they are decaying faster than they can be renewed. "In the next forty years," Mr. Johnson said in 1964, "we must rebuild the entire urban United States." That is about the size of the problem.

The flight to the suburbs complicates the effort to rebuild the city. It would be useful if those who ran away stayed to fight against blight and crime and disease. But many and perhaps most of those who flee to the suburbs do not do so out of choice. Many would prefer to be in the city, to be near lectures, libraries, museums, friends. But sometimes their neighborhood starts to fall apart so thoroughly that it simply becomes impossible for these people to stay in the city.

There are transition neighborhoods where the die is not yet cast—where the area can either go up or down. Such neighborhoods are worth fighting and working for. But too often the neighborhood is one in which no one would live if he had any choice. In the North it usually means a neighborhood where Negroes can afford to live—and this shamefully hastens the white exodus; it means a neighborhood where some houses are in bad disrepair, where some houses are already torn down and where most look as if they should be.

The problem Mr. Weaver is going to face is this: cities are rapidly becoming places where only the rich and the poor will live—and perhaps only the Negro poor. The rich will remain and live above it all; they can afford to pay fantastic prices for room and air, for space and human decency. The poor will remain for the obvious reason; they cannot afford to move. And among the very poor, the children of the badly disorganized families will suffer so much from the brutalizing effects of their environment that they will for all practical purposes be unable to learn once they reach school.

The exodus from the city by the middle-classes is a disaster, however understandable it may be. It is from this group that much of the city's leadership should come; it is this group that should be paying city taxes. As our cities decay, the need for fire and police protection, for jails and welfare services, grows ever greater. Yet more and more of the people who under normal circumstances would pay for such services are fleeing to the suburbs.

In a situation like this, one must sympathize with men like New York's new mayor, John V. Lindsay, who would like to revitalize the city. They have a heavy burden to carry, and their goal is eminently worthwhile. At the same time life in the cities is going to have to get a lot different before the flight to the suburbs can be reversed.

Is there any hope that this can be done? I think there is—provided we really want to do it. I don't mean to minimize the technical problems, of clearance and rebuilding, of crime and delinquency, of traffic control and air pollution and all the rest. We have been toying with these for years with indifferent success, I know. But I doubt that our failure was due primarily to lack of technical know-how. What we have lacked, I am convinced, is the conviction that our cities are becoming a national scandal which we will tolerate no longer. With that conviction, we could work miracles; without it, Mr. Weaver is beaten before he even begins his new job.

JAMES O'GARA



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# CONTRACEPTION AND THE COUNCIL

*A fresh analysis, a new framework*

**JOHN T. NOONAN, JR.**

Vatican II stated expressly that as to contraception "the Holy Synod does not intend to propose concrete solutions directly." The reason was also given: "certain questions which need other and more searching inquiries have been given, by command of the Supreme Pontiff, to the Commission for the Study of Population, Family, and Natality." The question of contraceptive practice was thus recognized to be outside the Council's domain of action. This frank recognition of a limit, and the delicate, nuanced, and balanced language of Schema XIII, the conciliar document on marriage in the modern world, has obscured the substantial development of doctrine which the Council effected. The Council did not propose concrete solutions "directly." It did provide a fresh analysis of values, a new framework of concepts, and a recasting of past teaching, in terms of which concrete solutions might be sought.

The significance of the Council's teaching appears most strongly if it is set against two backgrounds: the background of the previous nineteen hundred years of Church teaching on marriage and marital intercourse; and the immediate background of conciliar drafts and amendments from which the final text emerged. The basic council document was prepared by a special subcommittee of the conciliar Commissions on Doctrine and the Lay Apostolate, of which Bernard Häring, C.SS.R., was secretary. This document of April, 1964, was then thoroughly revised as to language but not as to substance by another subcommittee of these Commissions in the summer of 1965.

The revised document was accepted on November 16, 1965, by the Council by a vote of 1596 to 72, but with 484 Fathers favoring amendments (*modi*). According to the rules of the Council these *modi* could be accepted only if they did not go against the substance of the document. Their acceptability was passed on by the Mixed Commission, consisting of thirty bishops from the Commission on the Lay Apostolate and thirty bishops from the Commission on Doctrine. Reference here will be made to these accepted or rejected amendments by the number—m.1, m.2, etc.—they bear in the printed legislative history of the Council. Only in these contexts of past history and immediate legislative struggle can one perceive clearly the balances struck, the blendings achieved, the nuances preserved, and the triumphs accomplished.

That the teaching of Vatican II should be of the greatest relevance to Catholic doctrine on contraception is not surprising when it is remarked that the Second Vatican Council was the first council in the history of the Church to speak on the purposes of marital intercourse. This subject, which was unmentioned in the Gospels, had been left largely to the speculations of the theologians. It had never been a matter of authoritative teaching by a general council, nor, I believe, by any council. Now, for the first time, as the culmination of a slow evolution that took a decisive turn about 1680, a council gave authoritative teaching on coital purpose.

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At various earlier times in the history of the Church it had been the common opinion of Catholic theologians that the only lawful purpose for initiating intercourse was procreation; a consciously procreative intent was required. This view, derived from the Stoics, was asserted by Clement of Alexandria, and, adopted by Origen, played a guiding role in the Greek Church. In the West it was affirmed by St. Ambrose, St. Jerome, and, above all, by St. Augustine, who riveted it on Western moral thought. From 1100 to 1680 the Alexandrian or Augustinian requirement of procreative purpose was dominant among Catholic moral theologians.

### *A Sharp Critique*

By the end of the fifteenth century, however, a sharp critique had been made of the dominant theory, and Paris theologians had suggested that among the lawful purposes of marital coitus were the avoidance of adultery, the restoration of bodily and psychic health, and even the achievement of pleasure. Between 1480 and 1680 there went on a major theological controversy conducted in these categories. In 1563 the Council of Trent for the first time spoke at a conciliar level about love in marriage, but did not relate it to intercourse. Yet during the next century it became accepted that intercourse in order to avoid incontinence elsewhere was lawful; after all, this view had the implicit support of St. Paul in 1 Corinthians 7. In adopting this analysis, the seventeenth-century theologians broke with the Augustinian insistence that sexual acts must be somehow tied to procreative purpose. At the same time they were uneasy about pleasure as a purpose in itself, and the consensus was that to seek pleasure only in intercourse, while excluding other purposes, was to commit venial sin.

Only in the nineteenth century was the idea advanced that the expression and fostering of love could be recognized as a purpose of marital intercourse. This thought was not developed in nineteenth century theology, although by the end of the century Alois De Smet could add the un-Tridentine thought, apropos of the love which Trent had spoken of in marriage, "The marriage act itself, by which the partners are made one flesh, cultivates and nourishes this love." Substantial theoretical development of this new, non-Augustinian insight was made in 1925 by the German layman, Dietrich Von Hildebrand, in his *Reinheit und Jungfraulichkeit,* and above all, in 1935 by the German priest, Herbert Doms in his *Vom Sinn and Zweck der Ehe.* Doms set out a complete theory of coitus as an ontological act of reciprocal love, "an act which contains the abandonment and enjoyment of the whole person and is not simply an isolated activity of organs."

Doms' theory was received with coldness, the Holy Office issuing a decree on April 1, 1944 that was interpreted as rebuking it. But his emphasis on persons, in contrast to the earlier focus on the biological act, was taken up by Pius XII in 1949 in an allocution condemning artificial insemination. In the 1950's, a position balancing procreation and conjugal love was set out by the leading moral theologians, Bernard Häring and Joseph Fuchs. Marital intercourse, Häring said, was "a fundamental mediation of charity." Apart from procreation, one of its permissible purposes was "the augmentation of love." The loving union of spouses, however, was not directed to their own completion, but to the child, whose "virtual presence" was "inscribed in the ontological act of total union." Similarly Fuchs taught that expression of love was a purpose of intercourse, although this love "entirely (although not solely or as a mere means) serves and is subordinated to the education of offspring, to whose generation such an act expressive of love is evidently ordered."

There had then already occurred in theological thought a development which, blending procreation and conjugal love, recognized both as purposes of intercourse. Vatican II confirmed and crowned this development by relating the coital expression of conjugal love to procreation, but also giving such expression a substantial value independent of procreation. Conjugal love, the Council now taught, had its origin from God's invitation to the married to love each other, and the Lord had "cleansed, perfected, and elevated" this love. Such love is "directed from person to person" and "completes the good of the whole person." This was Doms on the ontological significance of coitus. Such "eminently human love," the Council continued, "is able to enrich the expressions of the body and of the spirit with a peculiar dignity and ennoble them as elements and special signs of conjugal friendship."

The Council then went on to teach specifically, "This love is singularly expressed and perfected by the proper work of marriage. The acts, then, by which the spouses intimately and chastely unite with each other are decent and worthy, and exercised in a truly human way, signify and foster a mutual giving by which with joyful and grateful spirit they reciprocally enrich each other" (Sec. 49 of Schema XIII, *The Church in the Modern World*).

One Father sought to excise the final clause running from "by which" to "enrich each other." His amendment was rejected by the Mixed Commission with the comment, "This sentence was expressly and pressingly



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asked for by the laymen" (m.57). Four Fathers sought to replace "perfected" in the first clause by "consummated." The amendment was rejected on the ground that "perfected" "brings the human aspect better into the light" (m.55). In short, the Council insisted that the coital act was human and personal, enriching the persons involved, and remarkably expressing the love which the Lord had perfected.

This insistence on the great value of love as an end of intercourse was a far cry from Clement, Augustine, and the dominant theological teaching of pre-seventeenth-century Catholic thought. Not only was love set forth as an excellent purpose. The classification of primary and secondary ends in marriage—a classification often used in debates on contraception—was deliberately rejected. Marriage, the Council said, was endowed by God "with various goods and ends" (sec.47). Family life was said to be a good of marriage, "not putting second the other ends of marriage" (sec.50). Two Fathers objected that for these reasons the whole chapter "was still theologically immature, equivocal and reticent in certain essentials: it insists predominantly and almost uniquely on conjugal love and on personal donation, which they say does not correspond to the way of speaking of the Church from earliest times." At least, these Fathers said, the chapter ought to speak of "the hierarchy of ends" and "the intrinsic malice of onanism" (m.1). One hundred and ninety Fathers asked that the text be amended "to recall Catholic doctrine up till now handed down and to better indicate the hierarchy of ends" (m.16). Another Father proposed the amendment, "Conjugal love is ordained to the primary end of marriage, which is offspring" (m.72).

All of these attempts to insert the hierarchy of ends were defeated. The Mixed Commission said laconically, "It may be noted that the hierarchy of goods can be considered under different aspects." Brusquer treatment was given an arch-conservative attempt to reaffirm Augustine by saying "conjugal love, independent of the intention of procreating offspring, does not justify the conjugal act." This, the Mixed Commission said, "does not square with received doctrine" (m.67). The rejected amendments here, like the rejected amendments to the conciliar decree on religious liberty, stand as forlorn monuments to a theology which has been passed by.

Conjugal love, however, was not left unrelated to procreation and education. Here Häring and Fuchs were followed. "By its natural character, the very institution of marriage and conjugal love are ordained to the procreation and education of offspring as they are crowned by their birth" (sec.48; cf. sec.50). The Council declared this twice, adding the second time this amendment, "Truly children are a most excellent gift of marriage and contribute especially to the good of the parents themselves." As the Mixed Commission pointed out, the "primordial importance of procreation and education is at least ten times expounded in the text" (m.15). Procreation and education were said to be cooperation in the work of the Creator; responsible procreation was said to be itself the generous fulfilling of a duty imposed on spouses. Not only was the procreative value strongly affirmed, but the Council also found "worthy of particular commendation" those who raised "a larger number of offspring to be appropriately educated" (sec.50).

In short, the Council affirmed strongly and insistently that procreation was good and that marriage was directed to it. At the same time, in complete accord with classical Catholic expositions of the goods of marriage, procreation was never separated from education, except arguably in the amendment on the excellence of children; yet even this amendment was probably controlled by the sentence which preceded it and spoke of the "procreation and education of children." There cannot be found in the conciliar exposition any attempt to praise uncontrolled procreation or to assert that procreation, apart from education, is good.

### *Parental Responsibility*

The coordinate emphasis on procreation and education was related to the stress the Council laid on parental responsibility to determine the number of children. Here the Council was summing up theological writing of the 1950's, but at the same time setting a precedent in being the first Council to speak to the issue. In the April, 1964, draft of Schema XIII this responsibility was put very strongly: "Christian spouses know they are not the slaves of blind instinct." On the floor of the Council in November, 1964, Cardinal Ottaviani challenged this stress on parental responsibility as a dangerous novelty. Yet the revised text, no longer containing the sentence on blind instinct, was scarcely less emphatic than the first draft. The Council said that each couple was to decide the number of children they should have. They were to make the decision "attending both to their own good and the good of their children whether now born or to be born, diagnosing both the temporal and spiritual conditions of the times and their state of life, and taking into account the good of the family community, temporal society, and the Church itself" (sec.50).

This affirmation was scarcely tempered by the following statement that in making the decision the couple were to be "docile toward the magisterium." The mag-



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isterium had never taught how many children a couple should have. Indeed it now taught, through the mouth of the Council, that a context of multiple goods was the framework in which a decision as to offspring should be made. What the Council regarded as relevant in making this decision was far broader than what Pius XII in 1951 had conceded in his Allocution to the Midwives could provide reason for regulating births—that is, "medical, eugenic, economic, and social" motives. Now the Christian couple were told explicitly by the magisterium to consider their own good, their family good, and their state of life; and there was unmistakable reference to the value to which procreation was invariably wedded, education, when the Council told parents to consider the good of their children born and to be born. "This judgment," the Council said of the judgment as to number, "must ultimately be made before God by the spouses themselves" (sec.50). The Mixed Commission struck from this sentence the concluding words "and by no one else" because these words "could seem too harsh" and might exclude advice; but the Commission acted with the explicit caution that the sense of the sentence, "by which every undue intervention is excluded," was unchanged. The word "ultimately" was retained over objection, because "it underlines the proper responsibility of the spouses" (m.81).

What relevance to contraception had these strong conciliar affirmations on conjugal love as a purpose of intercourse, on the linked goods of procreation and education, and on ultimate parental responsibility? The Council began to relate the basic goods and contraception in section 51, "The reconciling of conjugal love with respect for human life." The Council said it knew that "often in conditions of today's life," spouses are in circumstances "in which the number of offspring, at any rate for the time being, cannot be increased." The parental responsibility to limit births then conflicted with the demands of love, and this conflict, the Council noted, threatened both the good of marital fidelity and the education of the children. There was candid avowal that the attempt to achieve all the basic goods of marriage might produce a crisis.

Recognizing the difficulty, the Council went on to say "There are those who presume to offer to these problems indecent solutions; indeed they do not shrink from killing." To such persons, the Council declared that life "from conception" was to be guarded with the greatest care. This statement was itself a doctrinal advance at the level of conciliar statement; no Council before had spoken so clearly as to the instant from which the embryo demanded respect. "Abortion and infanticide," the Council affirmed, "are horrible crimes."

There were also, the Council taught, moral criteria for marital coitus. These criteria are "taken from the nature of the person and his acts." These criteria must determine what acts respect "an integral sense of mutual donation and human procreation in the context of true love." In these statements a true advance occurred. Rejected was the scholastic approach rooted in St. Thomas which stated that the criteria were to be found in the nature of the act of coitus. One hundred and nine Fathers had sought to state the acts expressing married love in the old scholastic terms of "acts per se apt for the generation of offspring." This hallowed formula was sharply rejected by the Mixed Commission with the decisive comment, "Not all acts tend to generation (cf. sterility and the sterile times)" (m.56).

Now, in setting out the objective criteria of birth regulation, thirteen Fathers asked that "criteria" be modified with the words "as, e.g., in the generative faculty of human nature founded in the same dignity of the human person." This attempt to emphasize the generative faculty was rejected by the Mixed Commission (m.104)). Also rejected was the amendment offered by one Father to add after the words "human procreation" the old scholastic formula "and the natural ordination of the act" (m.105). In sharp contrast, the Mixed Commission chose the words "taken from the nature of the person and his acts" because "by these words it is asserted that the acts are not to be judged according to a merely biological aspect, but as they relate to the human person integrally and adequately considered" (m.104). In accepting this criterion, the Council eliminated the usual scholastic arguments against contraception which were focused on the nature of the coital act abstracted from the person. Now the person and all his act—educational as well as generative—were made the norm for judgment.

In the language used by the Council there was a reminiscence of the argument advanced by Doms that contraception hindered the ontological gift of oneself in coitus. "If a person," Doms had said, "mutilates the biological process anatomically or physiologically, before, during, or after the act, he only gives himself with an arbitrary reservation, which is contrary to the immutable meaning of the sexual act and the most profound intention of conjugal love." The Council, however, did not adopt this argument. It left open the possibility that this argument might, however, be a valid objection, at least to those contraceptive acts destroying the physical integrity of coitus.

Attached to the April, 1964 draft of Schema XIII there had been an Appendix where it was explicitly stated that "Every deliberate intervention of men which



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vitiates the work proper to the conjugal act of the person is contrary to divine law and the order of matrimony; nor can such a way of acting be consonant with the integrity of conjugal love." Here was an express condemnation of coitus interruptus and the condom. A proposed footnote buttressed the text by noting that these methods were condemned by *Casti connubii*. In the revised draft these references to particular contraceptive means were dropped.

### *A Refusal to Speak?*

In this final refusal to speak out on any contraceptive means, the Council refrained from judgment on any of them. It had stated in the introduction to the chapter on marriage that marriage today was profaned by "illicit practice against generation." But "such practices" were not made precise; oral and anal intercourse could have been meant. The Mixed Commission had rejected an effort to say "contraceptive arts" at this point instead of "illicit practices." It did so for the pointed reason that "contraceptive arts" could include "the method of periodic continence, which often requires technical computations" (m.51).

The final draft, like the April, 1964, text, contained a reference to *Casti connubii* and to the precise pages where *Casti connubii* condemned contraceptive means interrupting the coital act. This reference was added, in the end, in an amendment called to the Mixed Commission's attention by the Cardinal Secretary of State. But, unlike the April, 1964 draft, it was no longer said that the Council endorsed the condemnation. *Casti connubii* became a footnote, introduced by "cf." It was a footnote attached to the clause "ways reproved by the magisterium when it explains the divine law." The footnote then asked the reader to "refer to" *Casti connubii*. Did this cryptic notation mean that the Council was teaching that *Casti connubii* was a case where the magisterium had stated divine law? Hardly, because the footnote reference to *Casti connubii* was amplified by further references: to Pius XII's 1951 Allocution to the Midwives, and to Paul VI's Allocution to the Cardinals of June 23, 1964. The Allocution to the Midwives expanded *Casti connubii* by saying it condemned attempts to impede procreation by preventing the "development of the natural consequences" of conjugal intercourse; in short, it condemned the diaphragm and douche. Paul VI's Allocution to the Cardinals, a reference added by the Mixed Commission, referred to "birth control" in general and said, "We must say openly that up to now we have not sufficient reason to consider the norms given by Pius XII in this matter to be out of date [*superate*] and therefore not binding." These were to bind "at least until we feel in conscience obliged to modify them," because "in a matter of such importance it seems good that Catholics wish to observe a single law." The norms given by Pius XII were probably those he had given on the progesterone pill in 1958, but arguably they included his 1951 teaching to the Midwives. Surely "norms" "given" by a Pope which might be shown to be "out of date" were not meant as divine law; and if the Council was not teaching by its elusive footnote 14 that the rules of Pius XII on the pill, douche and diaphragm were divine law, it could not be consistently argued that it was teaching that *Casti connubii* on the condom and coitus interruptus was divine law.

Indeed, the most striking aspect of the Council on contraception was the way that it put the existing law on contraception as law for "children of the Church." Pius XI had taught very strongly in *Casti connubii* that the contraceptive acts condemned therein were contrary to the good of any man, Christian or pagan. The Council did not repudiate this teaching, because in its general deploring of the illicit practices against generation and in its setting out of objective moral criteria based on the person, it was speaking to all men, too. Indeed the introductory section of the marriage chapter noted that the Council "intends to illuminate and comfort all men." Yet, when the Council turned to existing discipline in the Church on contraception, it ceased to talk of all men. Rather it said that "for children of the Church" "it is not lawful" to use methods of regulating procreation which "have been reproved by the magisterium when it interprets the divine law." The footnote reference to Paul VI's Allocution to the Cardinals showed that the Council believed that in the process of interpreting divine law a Pope could give norms which were open to revision but which should be obeyed as authoritative teaching until revised. In short, the casting of the teaching on contraception in terms of what was not lawful, and the application of this teaching only to Catholics, would seem to suggest that the Council viewed existing condemnations as, at least in part, open to revision. In this it was in perfect harmony with Paul VI who thought it desirable that, until they were revised by him, a single law should bind Catholics.

Finally, the Council gave some guidance as to how conjugal love and the education of children were to be reconciled with the responsibility to regulate the number of offspring. It stated flatly "that there cannot be a true contradiction between the divine laws of transmitting life and those favoring genuine conjugal love." When those were known it would also be known what



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rules could not be divine law. At least such a procedure seemed recommended by the Council in preference to one of hypothesizing the divine laws and trying to accommodate the laws of conjugal love to them.

The Council, subtly but decisively, indicated by example and precept its preference for the first method. It began the chapter on marriage by the statement that it proceeded not only in the light of the Gospels but "in the light of the human experience of all men." The Council itself meant to rely on human testimony as to the requirements of love. Looking specifically "to the necessities and advantages of the family which are appropriate for the new day," the Council declared that a great contribution might be made by "the Christian sense of the faithful." Six Fathers wished to qualify this appeal to the faithful by qualifying the sense of the faithful as "showing filial obedience to the magisterium of the Church." The Mixed Commission responded that enough had been said of the magisterium (m.113). What the Council valued was the *consensus fidelium*; as the Council had earlier taught in its Constitution on the Church, "The holy people of God share also in Christ's prophetic office." Beyond this invocation of the witness of the faithful, the Council asked scientists "to try to elucidate more deeply the different conditions favoring the decent regulation of human procreation." Again there was no assumption that all the divine and natural laws on birth regulation were known to the Council or even to the well-read theologian. The appeal was to empirical investigation to discover the conditions.

The Council, then, has not proposed solutions "directly," as to how conjugal love and parental responsibility may be reconciled. It has, however, set up the main pillars of any solution: procreation and education are indissolubly linked goods; conjugal love is in itself a legitimate and laudable purpose of intercourse; embryonic life is to be guarded; the dignity of the person is to provide norms; there is an element of divine law in previous teaching by the Church on contraception, but not all existing law on contraception is immutable. Solutions for the new day are to be found both by discerning what is divine and immutable and by consulting experts and the Christian faithful.

*Impasse in Argentina*

# THE SHADOW OF PERON

JAIME POTENZE

Ten years after the overthrow of Juan Peron, he is still the biggest problem of Argentine politics. And that fact leads to one sad conclusion: the Argentine revolution of 1955 was not a complete success. It would be a misunderstanding to call it a failure, because its main goal was accomplished: the worst dictatorship our country had suffered since independence was tumbled down. Political freedom returned to Argentina. Newspapers began publishing again without receiving orders from the Government House. The instruments of torture used in prisons against members of the opposition were burnt. Citizens could talk on the telephone without fearing that their conversations were tape-recorded.

Unfortunately, the Army and Navy people which took power did not realize that in spite of all his crimes, Peron had accomplished some important things, the first being the politicization of the working classes.

General Lonardi, the chief of the 1955 anti-Peronist coup, was a nationalist but not a very bright one. Knowing the Peronists were strong in spite of their defeat and hoping for some kind of agreement, Lonardi promptly announced after the coup that there were no winners or losers. He failed to realize that the followers of Peron were a blind mass unwilling to accept anything except the return of its leader. The sensible thing to do was conduct a popular policy from an economic viewpoint, with all the advantages of political freedom.

Lonardi was a sick man, and too stubborn to play his hand with subtlety. Further, he was surrounded by right-wing nationalists who justly alarmed the liberal members of the Army and Navy. As a result, fifty days after his coming to power he was put out, and General Aramburu was elected by the revolutionaries to the

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presidency. If Lonardi had had a reputation for honesty, Aramburu, when Military Attaché to Brazil during Peron's days, had never rejected special orders to buy new cars and so on. Not realizing the unpopularity of the political parties, both Lonardi and Aramburu had formed an Advisory Board composed of two members of the main parties, plus practically unknown "representatives" of the "democratic Catholics."

During the last days of Peron's regime, the economic situation had deteriorated but was far from desperate, and Aramburu's principal problem was to convince the unions that their social conquests would be respected. The politicians, starting a demagogic courtship of former Peronist votes, violently opposed everything Aramburu did, and it is fair to admit that the president did nothing to discourage them. The cost of living reached unknown heights and the only explanation was that everything was Peron's fault: he had exhausted the federal funds. However, time passed, and even the most fervent anti-Peronists started to wonder if Peron was to be accused forever for the mistakes of his successors.

### *Unkept Promises*

Peronism remained a monolithic force under the personal guidance of its leader, whether he was in Paraguay, Santo Domingo, Venezuela or Spain. With the Army itself deteriorating in power, elections were called; and Arturo Frondizi, a shrewd politician, signed a pact with Peron. In return for Peronist votes, Frondizi promised the former dictator everything, from the legalization of his party, to the return of confiscated funds. Needless to say, he did not fulfill his word. Peron should have known the Army would not permit the new president to satisfy Peron's demands. Which was what happened.

Frondizi's presidency was as bad as any other in matters concerning the economy, and he was so closely watched by the Army, Navy and Air Forces that he resembled a puppet. Nevertheless he managed to permit the Peronists to vote again under the "Popular Union" label, the result being a complete Peronist victory in the principal provinces.

Frondizi intervened wherever the Peronists had won, but the Army was fed up. It put Frondizi out of power and annulled the elections. New elections, in which Peronists were not allowed to vote for president, made Arturo Illia, a country doctor, president of Argentina.

Illia's economic policy is as bad as Frondizi's or Aramburu's, and he is consequently unpopular. But he has allowed the Peronist party to vote throughout the country. (Previously, they could present candidates in certain small provinces.) Now that the law allows them to exercise their civic duties all over Argentina, everyone wonders what will happen when in 1967 they will win the governments of the principal provinces, and after that the presidency of the republic. The bets are 100-1 that the Army will not allow the Peronistas to come back; another coup is likely. No one wants it but it seems indispensable. The Peronists know this quite well, and are trying to find non-partisan candidates for the principal posts. Still it is clear that once these are elected, they will have to follow Peron's orders. Besides that, if Peronists win the elections, there will be no reasonable pretext to impede Peron's return to the country, and that will mean chaos. Peron himself has learnt absolutely nothing, and his followers threaten a bloody revenge.

Why has Argentina come to this impasse? First: Peron was a *caudillo* and the majority of the people liked and loved him. They did not care about tortures, about thefts, about immorality, about attacks on human dignity. They did not care about free press, free speech or freedom *tout court*. If free elections had been held in Germany during Hitler's regime, he would have won; and only an incurable optimist would dream of a Castro defeat in Cuba. The masses do not think but feel, whether theoretical people like it or not. Second: since all the governments which succeeded Peron's were inept, people who forget easily believe the best thing for our country is to go back to the good old days; no freedom existed but prices were cheaper. Third: the political parties (the so-called democratic political parties) have shown an unexpected inability to cope with the needs of the people. The old leaders are the Tammany Hall type, and the new people prefer the extremisms because they know that in Argentina things will not be changed by means of free elections. With all the objections that the Cuban experience raises, Castro has shown that the only way to fight corruption is by a revolution, which in no time can win the support of the majority, an impossible thing to attain by elections, when the structures are so vitiated that putrefaction would come first.

Peron was the most immoral president Argentina has had, and there are many of us who without any hesitation would give our lives to prevent his coming back. That will not be necessary because he is a coward and knows that his presence in our country would not last for very long. But a government based on the political parties, which represent not the true people but particular interests, will certainly never answer the needs of Argentina.



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# THE BOGART VOGUE

*Character and cult*

**GERALD WEALES**

Anyone entangled, emotionally and aesthetically, in the movies of the 1930's and 1940's, as I am, is likely to view with suspicion the phenomenon of the revival, the festival dedicated to a single performer, director or genre. No one wants the sontag-cum-serendipity crowd camping where he lives, giggling its way through his childhood, adolescence and early manhood. A theater in Philadelphia recently offered four hours of Batman serials, stitched together to form an evening's entertainment, winking from its marquee, "Is it pop art or is it camp?" I stayed away because I know how bad the Batman serials are, I have no emotional investment in them (I was too old when they began to appear) and I am slightly nauseated by the kind of laughter they invoke, the superior snottiness that thinks it is funny to put comic captions on stills from old movies and photographs of babies and animals.

On the other hand, I went to the Gallery of Modern Art to see Busby Berkeley and Ruby Keeler when they came out of retirement to appear on a program, along with more than two hours of Berkeley musical numbers laid end to end, honoring the work of the most important musical director of the 1930's. Even so, there was an unhealthy ambiguity about the occasion. Along with a genuine nostalgia for Miss Keeler and a real admiration for Berkeley's inventiveness, even when it became ridiculous, there was an air of chi-chi for in some circles it has become fashionable laughingly to admire Ruby Keeler simply because she was so bad as an actress, a singer and a dancer.

Humphrey Bogart is no Batman and he never played opposite Ruby Keeler (it was Cagney who danced with her in "Footlight Parade"), but I feel some of the same sense of distrust about the Bogart vogue. Praise for him on the lips of anyone under 35 makes me suspicious, particularly when he is called "Bogey," the man's nickname transferred to the actor. I always called him "Humphrey Bogart," or, at my most familiar, "Bogart." This "Bogey" thing sounds culty to me, as though it might has been imported with the French *nouvelle vague*, a transplant from "Breathless" ("Son of Bogie" proclaims the January *Esquire* in an article on Belmondo), an exotic flower growing in home soil where simple Bogart fans once flourished.

Although there is something about the Bogart boom that is as deceptively genuine as Sydney Greenstreet's smile in "The Maltese Falcon," there is something solid too. There is more to it than a momentary Batman or Flash Gordon resurgence. It has lasted too long, for one thing. Not long after Bogart's death in 1957, fanning out from Harvard, where film festivals are born, the Bogart revivals began in cities all across the country. This was not a case of rediscovery, for he was a top box-office star right to the end of his life. In his last 10 years, however, beginning with "Treasure of Sierra Madre," he made conscious and often successful attempts to create characters only distantly related to the personality that is now called "Bogey." One of the purposes of the festivals was to reestablish that personality, to see that the films of the early forties were played alongside his later successes. While we went to "Sierra Madre" or "The African Queen" at first-run theaters, we watched the all-night houses for a chance to see again "High Sierra," "The Maltese Falcon," "The Big Sleep."

The even earlier Bogart films, the parade of ordinary 1930's feature pictures, were not available at all until Warner Bros. dumped its movies on the television market. Then we could see Bogart playing second fiddle to Pat O'Brien in "The Great O'Malley" or Edward G. Robinson in "Kid Galahad"; we could reaffirm our half-remembered conviction that once, as a wrestling impresario, Bogart set up a match between Nat Pendleton and Louise Fazenda—in"Swing Your Lady." It is on television that the most persistent if casual Bogart festivals play, because hardly a week goes by without at least one Bogart film available at some time of day or night in every viewing area. The testimony to Bogart made at the box-offices of art houses or in the early morning hours in front of television sets can now be echoed in bookstores. In the fall of 1965, four books on Humphrey Bogart were published, three of them en-

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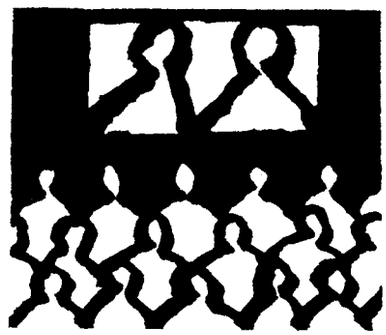
titled *Bogey*. (*Bogey, The Films of Humphrey Bogart*, by Clifford McCarty, Citadel, $6.95; *Humphrey Bogart, The Man and His Films*, by Paul Michael, Bobbs-Merrill, $7.95; *Bogey, The Man, The Actor, The Legend*, by Jonah Ruddy and Jonathan Hill, Tower, 75¢; *Bogey: Good-Bad Guy*, by Ezra Goodman, Lyle Stuart, $4.95.) I have not seen the Goodman book.

The Bogart that the books celebrate, the figure who looms a little larger than any one of his films is chiefly a product of a handful of Warner movies made between 1941 and 1946, from "High Sierra" to "The Big Sleep." He was a long time getting there. Bogart played a number of minor roles on Broadway during the 1920's. It is usually said that he spent those years dressed in flannels, carrying a tennis racket, but the Bogart role that sticks in my mind from a later reading of the play is the prim and earnest young man in Larry E. Johnson's "It's a Wise Child" (1929), who, always willing to sacrifice romance to his career, loses the girl to Minor Watson. Bogart made several unsuccessful bids for a Hollywood career (nine movies for four companies from 1930 to 1932), but it was not until his success as Duke Mantee in "The Petrified Forest" (1936), a repetition of his Broadway role, that his movie career began in earnest. He was no star even then. Featured, he appeared in five films in 1936, seven in 1937, six in 1938, seven in 1939, a functioning cog in the Warner machine, a busy bush-league gangster on the turf ruled by Cagney and Robinson. He had played a gangster as far back as 1932, in "Three on a Match," in which he drove poor Ann Dvorak to suicide, but it was his Duke Mantee that convinced the Warner typecasters that they had a good thing. Given that many movies in that short a time, he played a variety of parts, but the tough-guy roles predominated and became his identification tag.

### *Walking Through His Roles*

He was never an actor with a great range and in those days he did little but walk through stereotypical parts. The Ruddy-Hill book, which is admiring in tone, admits, "A close-up would often fail to reveal whether he was shooting it out with the FBI or making passionate love to his leading lady." As the Irish horse trainer in "Dark Victory," he conveyed nothing at all; he was saved in the movie because his face carried over a certain amount of amiable menace (which had nothing to do with "Dark Victory") from his customary roles and also because the film's leading man, George Brent, was so obviously a block of wood that Bogart seemed alive by comparison. In more conventional parts, dead-pan quality was a virtue. Cagney, Robinson, Muni, Raft, all the leading film gangsters worked within a comfortable stereotype and the small-part gangsters, Joe Sawyer, George E. Stone, Allen Jenkins, wore their familiar faces as obviously as the stock figures in Restoration comedy. Bogart became an adept performer, as so many of the Hollywood stars and contract players did, by learning to operate with skill and with apparent ease within the confines of a self- and studio-defined personality.

As this endless string of unimportant feature pictures rolled off the Warner lot, two things were in operation helping to prepare the transition to the next Bogart—one had to do with Bogart himself, one with the genre. Although the directors of the gangster movies occasionally attempted to get a kind of tawdry realism on film, as background to the action, the genre itself was highly stylized. Even in serious films, it was difficult



to take the villainy at more than face value; much more difficult, when the same Bogart went through his menacing paces in comedies in which the wisecrack shared screen space with mayhem—"Kid Galahad" or "Brother Orchid." While the genre insisted that we pay attention to a stereotyped figure, the actor playing that figure was impressing himself on audiences.

Much is made of Bogart's rugged handsomeness or attractive ugliness—depending on what fan magazine you read—but that kind of generalization explains very little. I suspect that two details of Bogart's face prepared audiences to accept his presumed toughness as a mask. One was the heavy eyebrows, dark even when they were plucked thinner than usual, which gave a deep-set quality to his eyes; the second was a kind of vulnerability about the lower lip and chin. All he needed was the roles to convince us that he was a tough guy with a soft streak just under the surface ("High Sierra") or a soft-hearted, idealistic guy who wore toughness as a disguise and a defense ("The Maltese Falcon"). There had been embryo Bogeys earlier—his Red Kennedy in "San Quentin" (1937)—but it was "Sierra" and



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"Falcon," coming together in 1941, that established the Bogart we know. Even after he attempted to go beyond that character, he returned to it in almost pure form in "Beat the Devil" (1954) and in certain details of some of his more famous later roles—Charlie Allnut in "The African Queen" and Harry Dawes in "The Barefoot Contessa." Its most famous embodiment, of course, was Rick in "Casablanca."

*A Bogus Nonchalance*

This Bogart came at just the right time for my generation. The idealism of the 1930's was coming to a confused end; after years of political optimism, the country was becoming aware that it had vaulted out of the depression, only to come down in a major war. Those of us who were going to have to go directly from high school to war had no intention of being sucked into overt patriotism. If we were going to have to be heroic, we knew how to do the job obliquely, out of the corner of our mouths. I do not want to blow up Bogart into a major symbol, but it was from him, and other Hollywood stars, that we found the manner that let us carry off a dirty and necessary war with a certain bogus nonchalance.

John Clellan Holmes summed him up well in a recent article on the movies of the 1930's (*Harper's*, December, 1965), although the Bogart he described really belongs to the 1940's: "He is always pre-eminently the Existential Knight, suspicious of sentiment, verbosity, and cheap idealism." The existential label (André Bazin used it earlier) is out of time, although accurate enough. It is in the Bogart character's assumption that real feeling, displayed, becomes rhetoric that his appeal for us lay. It is the same quality that must have appealed to a whole new generation in the 1950's. In the last few years, idealism has begun to come out from underground, but until a generation comes along which can proclaim itself without ambivalence, Bogart will keep his hold on new audiences; his world-weary Galahad will continue to speak to young men who want to do the right thing in the wrong tone of voice.

As for the new books, they do little to explain the Bogart phenomenon. The Ruddy-Hill *Bogey* is a double-header—a collection of quotations from film people, which sound like appropriate comments made on the actor's death, and a gossipy recounting of Bogart's adolescent behavior in night clubs, at parties, in his own home. The authors quote him, "Too many so-called reporters take endless delight in making us look like two-headed morons," and then proceed to prove that they are such so-called reporters. The McCarty and Michael volumes are both filmographies, to use an ugly word that seems to be catching on. The former is the more useful because it lists shorts, trailers, guest appearances as well as feature films and provides more extensive credits and more photographs, although its usefulness is finally badly marred by the absence of an index, which the Michael book does have. In neither of the books does the description of the films sound as though the author has gone back to the screen to refresh his memory, and the contradictory account of what happens in several of them (*Isle of Fury, Swing Your Lady, The Wagons Roll at Night*), which I have had no opportunity to check, make me a little chary of both volumes. These doubts aside, both McCarty and Michael provide a great deal of information for anyone who wants the details of Bogart's career. To know the character, however, better keep an eye out for a chance to see a movie like "All Through the Night" (1942). There, more than in "Casablanca" or any of the films that asks to be taken seriously, Bogart can be seen most clearly. He walks his soft-hearted, hard-fisted, wise-cracking way through that movie, flanked by Frank McHugh and William Demarest, and in the end he saves the heroine and the country from the Nazi menace of Conrad Veidt, Peter Lorre and Judith Anderson.

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ROBLEY WILSON, JR.

## *MARCH*

In black galoshes, syruping
Through the spring slush, the boy
Is me. This is a day
Melancholy for everything:
The curbs melt off into brown streams,
The gutters take the prints
Made by snow-tires and rinse
The buckled street bare to its seams.
Snowballs dropped over a choked sewer
Bob, go to gray, and die
Like sugar lumps. The sky
Is the color of school—no bluer
Than chimney smoke; when the last bell
Shakes loose a maple's ice
I turn too late—my eyes
Miss the sweet ripples where it fell.
My mother, bundling me in clothes
Unseasonably of wool,
Has made my senses dull;
I trudge the way the winter goes.



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# THE SCREEN

American film makers have sprung three movies that seem determined to prove that La Dolce Vita in the States is just as atrociously unsweet as that displayed abroad. All three films concentrate on Hollywood. None is very good. As the saying goes, Hollywood isn't so much a place as a state of mind; and the state of mind exhibited in the trio is not exactly healthy. But perhaps it *is* healthy for film makers, themselves, to comment on their playmates and their mores (even in such absurdly exaggerated misfires as the recent "Loved One").

One can hardly blame the teenage heroine of "Inside Daisy Clover" for being convinced that "the world is still a garbage dump" after her Hollywood experiences. At the start, Daisy (bright-eyed Natalie Wood, definitely no longer in her teens) is a wild, uncultured creature who lives with her wacky mother in a beach shack. Impressed by her singing voice and screen test, a big-shot producer decides to make Daisy into a star. So the girl gets the treatment, complete with hard work, new looks, new personality, and even a new background and family story (with mama hidden in an institution) and all the razzle-dazzle publicity guff. However, Daisy's rebellious spirit is not yet broken, so when Daisy gets chummy with the studio's handsome idol, a fun-loving, poetry-quoting charmer (Robert Redford), the news-minded producer stages the wedding in his own palatial mansion. But not till after the interrupted honeymoon does anyone remember to tell the naïve girl that her husband is a homosexual. Daisy runs to the producer for consolation.

On and on goes this sordid tale, which has its occasional interesting aspects, especially in the grueling star-is-born sequences and the satire on Hollywood of the 1930s when the big musicals were not yet considered camp. But the film as a whole doesn't jell. Gavin Lambert, who wrote the script from his own novel, may know the Lotus Land well and may even have modeled his Daisy on bits of real stories (Garland? Monroe? Durbin? Taylor?) but he never convinces us and he never really gets inside Daisy Clover. Robert Mulligan's direction wobbles. He allows Ruth Gordon to ham the mother role and Christopher Plummer to walk through the portrayal of the producer-Svengali as if he were under the influence of his own hypnotism. While Natalie Wood is fine in her effective nervous breakdown scene in a recording booth, her later scenes showing the suicide attempts are curiously played in slapstick. Only Roddy McDowall, as the producer's man-of-all-work, seems to take his unpleasant job seriously. But perhaps this is the trouble with "Inside Daisy Clover." It can never make up its mind if it is an exposé of the low state of Hollywood morals or whether it is just giving the razzberry to the town that was once the film capital of the world.

Also never quite able to make up its mind is "Lord Love a Duck," which was produced, directed and co-authored by George Axelrod, who seems to be aiming at a wacky whimsy like "The Knack" or a satire like "Dr. Strangelove." His film is as far-out as those, but it is so overdone that it lacks any genuine whimsy or satire. Its story is mainly about a couple of Los Angeles highschool students, and the very fact that they are played by non-highschoolish Roddy McDowall and Tuesday Weld is no doubt part of the burlesque. The advertisements for "Lord Love a Duck" sum up the argument: "This motion picture is against teenagers, their parents, beach movies, cars, schools, and several hundred other things. It's about a guy living in this insane world who suddenly goes stark, raving sane and commits a mass murder. It's a comedy." What the ad doesn't say is that the two leads give first-rate performances: Roddy as a crazy Svengali character (and funnier than Plummer) who wants to mastermind everyone, especially one cute chick, and Tuesday as the chick whose big desires in life are having a dozen cashmere sweaters, passing her botany course, going on a beach party, marrying wealthy Martin West, and becoming a movie star. How Roddy helps Tuesday get what she wants makes up the plot.

"Duck" manages to poke fun at everything listed in its ad as well as sex-education courses and drive-in churches. Some of the fun really is fun, but most of it is tastefully labored. Best scene shows Ruth Gordon, as the groom's snooty mother, and Lola Albright, as Tuesday's mother who works as a bunny in a cheap night club, meeting for the first time, each without realizing who the other is. The trouble with this hilarious scene is that it is followed by the suicide of Tuesday's mother, which is completely inappropriate even in a black comedy like this. No doubt, the beach party movies and Tuesday's rise to stardom deserve the ribbing they get. But for Hollywood's sake, let's just say this mish-mash movie is one man's opinion.

Even more of a mish-mash is "The Oscar," which relates the rise and fall of a heel. Stephen Boyd plays the



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heel well as the plot traces his career from spieling for a stripper in Kentucky to big-time star and Oscar nominee in Hollywood; but perhaps the trouble is he plays it too realistically, and one can't possibly imagine so many people being taken in by this mean, vicious climber. Outstanding in the starry cast surrounding Boyd are Milton Berle as his agent; Tony Bennett as his man-of-all-work, much of it very dirty; Elke Sommer as the foolish woman who marries the heel. But not the hard-working cast, Clarence Greene's good production, or the scalding comments on Hollywood's ways can save "The Oscar" from being anything more than a melodramatic mess. What we're still waiting for is a good new movie that really gets inside the place that is a state of mind. PHILIP T. HARTUNG

**TWO-HEADED IRISHMAN**

# THE STAGE

I don't know the history of the stage-Irishman. But I imagine that this clownish compound of sentimentality and bluster, this sugar-coated windbag, originally was invented by the English as a joke; and that some Irishman living abroad and feeling homesick, took the joke seriously; and that the custom spread like a bad fashion until every bar on 3rd Avenue was lined with red-faced imitations, begorrahing the top of the morning with a drop of the ould sod, just as the Englishman said.

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In "Philadelphia, Here I Come" the record is casually set straight. One of these wistful artifacts returns home in the second act, a big-hearted, big-mouthed stage-Irishwoman: and the hero can only shake his head and say, "I hate a blathering woman." Not that he doesn't like to talk: but talk has to reach certain standards. "Her bad grammar . . . her vulgarity" he explains—the playwright has caught the verbal and emotional fastidiousness of the real Irish: a fastidiousness that is altogether missing in the cartoon. Talk is a serious business. Sloppy overstatement, self-conscious "humorousness," blather—all the Paddy's day staples—excruciate the offstage Irish, for whom even mockery and exaggeration should be used with precision.

The hero of "Philadelphia etc." keeps such an intense vigil against sins of the tongue, his own and other peoples, that he has incarnated another self, a sort of guardian angel, to jeer and mimic and generally maintain those standards like a one-man French Academy. Critical irony is a full-time occupation with Gareth O'Donnell and requires a full-time helper, a special branch of the psyche. So Brien Friel has literally divided his hero's head in two and given the parts to two actors.

Theatrically, this is an amusing device and the two actors (Donal Donnelly and Patrick Bedford) who constitute the divisible Gareth O'Donnell are resourceful enough to make it a very amusing device. But it is more than that. It is also the core of the play. Ostensibly the question of the evening is, will this young man leave Ireland and go to America or won't he? But the real question is, why is this man talking to himself? Why are there two of him?

The most obvious answer is that he does it for intellectual company. The dismal village in which he lives offers him nothing half so interesting as his own skull. His father has sealed himself off in sly rigor mortis. His friends are self-deceiving yahoos. The local priest knows the good word but is too cautious to say it. And so it goes. Gareth has developed a brain which is of no possible use to him in this setting. So he sets it to work entertaining himself.

But the split is more radical than that. This is not simply a case of an intelligent man escaping into himself for company, but of some kind of social mutilation. Gareth only comes to emotional life in communion with



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himself: the rest of the time he is dying, like his father and the rest of the village. This raises the obvious question—could these private communions be somehow draining him of life? And might not similar private communions have drained his father, and the old priest in their day? The village may be dead simply because too many people have preferred their own company, preferred talking to themselves. In any event, Gareth's own gifts have done absolutely nothing to help this deformed society: they have all been siphoned into brilliant interior discourse. In the circumstances, he might be better off in Philadelphia at that.

The play has been compared with Billy Liar, Walter Mitty, etc.—the various day-dream stories. But the day-dreaming sequences, in which the hero imagines himself a big-shot in America, are among the least important of his thoughts. What matters is the acid commentary on life which never lets up and which cannot be exorcised through communication.

This is the humor of people who have watched their tongues for so long that a genuine split has developed between their words and their thoughts. One thinks of Zero Mostel's asides in "Fiddler on the Roof"—the Yiddish humor of resignation. The Irish version is more openly derisive, but it serves the same purpose: to dissociate the private self from the public act; to make sure that the necessary compromises are performed with unfailing irony; to mock oneself constantly, so that future humiliations will not hurt quite so much. (That this range of vicious, sanity-saving dissimulations has been subsumed over here into the single soft concept of "blarney" is a sign of how far things have come.)

"Philadelphia, Here I Come" must be in all respects one of the truest plays ever to come from Ireland. On top of everything else, there is not a line of pseudo-poetry, none of that "counting the stars in the mist on the hills of the valley" that O'Casey used for filler and that has so misled the stage-Irish. (Just try spouting that stuff in McDaid's Saloon and see where it gets you.)

The performance of the actors who play the two lobes of Gareth's brain is a marvel of timing: they walk in lock-step when things are going well; take turns resting; even sing together—or refuse to sing together. The alter ego is the perfect companion, cheering up the ego when he is down, sobering him when he is up, praising, scolding: but there is this awful limitation to him, that he is part of the same brain, that he can think no thought of his own, give no advice that his friend doesn't know already. Condemned to his company, Gareth will eventually dry up like his father, like the whole of rural Ireland. Perhaps it is better to opt for his vulgar aunt and Philadelphia, for modernity and a coarsening of sensibility.

Since Ireland herself is faced with similar quandaries, it is not straining for meaning to suggest that the play has a larger target than the village of Ballybeg. If Gareth ever gets to Philadelphia, his internal monologue will never be the same. (*At the Helen Hayes Theater*)

WILFRID SHEED

# BOOKS

## *Dispatches from the front*

### *Seasons of Discontent*

ROBERT BRUSTEIN

*Simon & Schuster, $5.95*

**JOHN SIMON**

This is no country for critics; certainly not for drama critics. For here the theater, above all arts, belongs to everyone, and woe unto him who spoils everyone's harmless, democratic, and rather expensive fun. In fact, the would-be drama critic has two options: to work for a mass medium, and, prefiguring the views of the average theatergoer, become a Gallup poll *avant la lettre;* or to enjoy the freedom of working for a prestige magazine, and be free to count his readers on the fingers of one hand, and his earnings on those of the other. The better magazine critic is hard enough beset by his nightly diet of stultifying vacuities; if, on top of that, he is to be charily paid and scarcely heeded, he has two recourses. Either, like Eric Bentley, he gives up reviewing altogether for the sake of more honored forms of writing; or, like Richard Gilman, he allows himself to be spirited away to a mass medium, in the hope of keeping his own head above water—only to find himself presently scuba-diving with the best of them.

Under these circumstances, we must be doubly grateful for Robert Brustein. He is not only, as we shall see, a remarkable critic, but also one who, after half a dozen seasons, can go back unto the breach again and again without becoming either apoplectic or cataleptic. And to think that there was actually some grumbling about *Seasons of Discontent,* subtitled "Dramatic Opinions, 1959-1965," for covering only so short



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a span. Next thing they will question the right of someone who spent six years in the Siberian salt mines to publish his recollections. Superficial trends in our theater change so fast and furiously that six years of it entitle anyone to a chestful of campaign ribbons; underlying values, however, remain so inert and crude that another dozen years could deepen nothing in a critic except the furrows on his brow.

But there is always the higher smart-aleckry which contends that such pieces (in this case, reviews from *The New Republic* supplemented by articles from other publications) are journalistic ephemera, quite enjoyable and useful at the time of initial publication, but of little interest when many of their subjects are faded or forgotten; moreover, the enlightened reader has read them way back when. Alas, American readership has yet to discover—if it ever will—the critical essay as an art form. When practiced with the perceptivity, taste, wit, and style of Mr. Brustein, a review ceases to be a piece of time-bound approbation or animadversion; it becomes a finished work of art, comparable to a short story or poem, in which insight and expression blend into a harmonious and long-reverberating utterance whose pleasures and meanings transcend their immediate function. Of course, it might be objected that volumes of verse and collections of stories have also failed to engage the interest of the larger American public; but the blame for that can hardly be laid on Mr. Brustein's doorstep.

The fact is that reading, or re-reading, these pieces in a book affords a clear and heartening panorama of Brustein's criteria for a healthy theater in a stimulating society; these are the annals of an intense, difficult, often dejected yet never quitting, devotion to the drama. We see plainly Brustein's abhorrence of the commercial, the conventional, and the bourgeois, on which a lordly Lawrentian scorn is tirelessly heaped. We share wholesomely in his welcoming of the unique, the disturbing, the rebellious—but the service of a classless revolution of art against fabrication, of truth against accommodation, of deep joy or sadness against titillation or sensationalism.

Brustein's evocative abilities work swiftly, dextrously, and indelibly. Here he is on Rip Torn in *Desire Under the Elms*: "Torn, playing Eben like a refugee from a Texas lunatic asylum, giggles when he is in despair, stares blankly when he is happy, and spits when he is undecided." On Joseph Wiseman in the Lincoln Center's *Incident at Vichy*: "Joseph Wiseman, who may be the spookiest actor in the American theatre, would be ideally cast as Dracula, but only this company would think of giving him the role of a rationalistic and humane psychiatrist. It is a credit to Mr. Wiseman that he manages to restrain his sinister vibrato for so much of the play, but he loses control in the final scene, warbling his lines in a rich *bel canto* manner, flapping his arms, and descending upon the Austrian as if he were about to suck his neck." Not only performances, but also entire plays and productions are characterized with rapid, telling strokes. Thus about the above-mentioned *Incident*: "Arthur Miller has a new entry in the Guilt Sweepstakes. It is called *Incident at Vichy*, and it runs a muddy track in an hour and a half huffing all the way. Unlike *After The Fall*, his previous contender at Recrimination Downs, this one is a standard steed, but it contains the same noisy virtue and moral flatulence, and it has about as much vigor and beauty as an old dray horse about to be melted down for glue." The metaphor is so beguiling that we forgive its slight inconsistency. Again: "Since David Merrick has a . . . difficulty with reality, nobody seemed surprised when he approached *Arturo Ui* as if he were producing another *Gypsy*. For this purpose, he selected George Tabori as adapter, Jule Styne as composer, and Tony Richardson as director, thus investing the work with a tin ear, a brass voice, and a chrome spirit."

But the admirable thing about Brustein's critiques is that they place the individual into a context, so that what is being weighed is not just an author, for example, but the whole theater that produced him, and the whole society that produced that theater. Thus we read: "It would not surprise me if Chayefsky, before writing *Gideon*, had made a sociological depth study of upward cultural mobility among the newly rich, the growing religiosity in the suburbs, and just how much rebellion an audience is willing to tolerate before running for the exits. In his new play, he has managed to unify all three columns of the questionnaire (*Yes, No,* and *Undecided*) by combining secular sentiments with religious pieties, vaudeville effects with Herman Wouk metaphysics, and the titillation of revolt with the security of conformity. Cannily measuring just how much intellectual gas will fill the commercial tank, he has even bothered to raise some questions about theology, humanism, the Copernican universe, and the relationship of man to God—before gingerly dropping the whole mess into the yawning cavern of Love." Conversely, Brustein is equally adept at lapidary judgments that are critical insight reduced to its absolute essence, as when he speaks of "the passionate ethnic narcissism of Jewish benefit audiences," or notes that "Albee is a highly accomplished stage magician, but he fails to convince us there is nothing up his sleeve."

No less impressive is Brustein's skill with soft-spoken but crushing irony, or his gift for polemic. By way of irony, from a review of *Blues for Mr. Charlie*: "In contrast with 'dried-up piss-assed white women' and 'piss-assed faggoty white boys,' however, Baldwin's Negroes are all extraordinarily virile, courageous, passionate and alive, even to the point of displaying, during a dance-hall sequence, a natural sense of rhythm." By way of polemic, part of an answer to Kazan's 1960 statement about Lincoln Center's intention to "avoid the smell of the library" and pseudo-realistic productions of . . . always that same damned *Wild Duck*" (Brustein's whole article, by the way, predicted accurately, five years in advance, the Kazan-Whitehead debacle): "If the library smells, it is from lack of human habitation, for it is rarely aired by our theatrical eminences. Yet, this odoriferous area contains most of the works worth doing by



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**For I was hungry and you gave Me to eat...**

St. Matthew. XXV-35

**1966 APPEAL**

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a subsidized repertory company. It would be interesting to tally how many times 'pseudo-realistic productions of *The Wild Duck*' have been performed in this country compared with pseudo-realistic productions of *All My Sons*, pseudo-poetic productions of *J. B.*, and pseudo-pseudo productions of *Sweet Bird of Youth*. Lincoln Center may succeed in filtering out the 'smell of the library' by introducing the stink of the cashbox."

It must not be assumed from this that Brustein is always in opposition. But his praise tends to be more expansive and encompassing; less gnomic and excerptable. Read, however, his tributes to actors like Zero Mostel and Hume Cronyn, directors like Tyrone Guthrie and William Ball, playwrights like Brecht, Beckett, Genet, Camus, Ibsen, Pirandello, Gelber, Kenneth H. Brown. How pleased he is when Broadway unexpectedly coughs up a play that has something to say, like Ronald Alexander's *Nobody Loves an Albatross*. How passionately, without ignoring their shortcomings, he extols groups like The Living Theatre and the Actors' Workshop. Brustein's generosity of spirit and noble enthusiasm seem to me epitomized in two statements. One, apropos of *The Deputy*, "I am not certain that the truth will make us free, but a courageous confrontation of the terrible is still the most exhilarating thing I know, and the greatest source of metaphysical joy." The other, from his encomium of modern French dramatists, who, though they "may focus on the spiritually diminished man," embody "a desire to rediscover the last outpost of man's dignity, that existential quality in man's spirit which is irrational and ecstatic and which cannot be defined away by social, psychological, or scientific theory."

If Brustein has any weaknesses, they stem from this very strength of his: from his belief in the ecstasy of confronting the terrors of the human condition. As a result, he leans over backward for any play, playwright, or production that seems to him to transcend the merely rational and conventional approach to art and life. Hence his fervor in behalf of a mediocre production of a misty Rabindranath Tagore play: at least it was ritualistic and thus not the usual Broadway profanity. Hence his rejoicing in some of Joseph Papp's vulgar productions in Central Park or in William Ball's fussy *Tartuffe* at Lincoln Center: wherever rowdy farce or grotesque *commedia dell' arte* rears its head, there the well-made play, the bourgeois' favorite genre, is presumably being undermined. Hence, too, his approval of something as oafish as S. J. Perelman's *The Beauty Part*: at least it is satire (however sophomoric), and satire wages war on middle-class smugness. But Brustein is far too sophisticated to be either a stereotyped liberal or a professional iconoclast. On the contrary, he is touchingly eager for some kind of new aristocracy of excellence in the theater: hence his intemperate overpraise of Robert Lowell's *The Old Glory*, which merely makes some hieratic gestures in the direction of poetic profundity.

Thus, in his magnanimous search for the original, the uncompromising, the anti-mediocre, Brustein sometimes mistakes the intent for the achievement. But if this is a defect, it is surely the most constructive of defects—one that encourages the best potential of a theater sadly short on the actual. I sometimes indulge in millenarian fantasies about what would happen to the American theater if half a dozen critics of Brustein's excellence were unleashed upon it in strategic positions. I believe that this might prove its rebirth and salvation; I also believe that it will never happen. But let us rejoice that there is at least one Brustein; even that is miraculously in excess of what the present American theater deserves.

## *Bernard Shaw: Collected Letters 1874-1897*

EDIT. DAN H. LAURENCE

*Dodd, Mead, $12.50*

**LOUIS CROMPTON**

Shaw scholars and the reading public alike owe Dan Laurence an immense debt for providing us with this volume, the first of a series of four. Shaw declared that all his letters remained permanently readable for the simple reason that he omitted the polite compliments, the conventional sentiments, and the meaningless banalities the average man feels constrained to set down on paper.

At the age of 18 he is already the ruthless analyst, critic, and inveterate improver. He begins by vivisecting his mother and sister with the detachment of a Houyhnhnm. But he is just as devastating on his own callowness, and he candidly warns his inamorata, Alice Lockett, "Believe nothing that I say—I have a wicked tongue, a deadly pen, and a cold heart." His program as a novelist, which he sets forth for a publisher, shows the same distance from ordinary human feelings. He wants to provoke in the reader "full of the emotional ethics of the conventional novel, a sense of oddity and unexpectedness. In short, not to be ironic, but to deal with those ordinary experiences which are a constant irony on sentimentalism."

Later he is able to turn his anti-sentimentalism into high-spirited raillery. "Don't talk to me of romances," he writes to a friend's wife, "I was sent into the world expressly to dance on them with thick boots—to shatter, stab, and murder them. I defy you to be romantic about me." The Houyhnhnm has learnt how to laugh and to temper his frightening clarity of vision with humor, just as the beardless young man decided to try the softening effect of a growth of natural hair on a "mean-looking jowl." Perhaps, he eventually comes to think, what looked like inhumanity was merely superhumanity in embryo.

If conventional sentiment fills him with scorn, the feelings which actually do tear his heart or move him to rapture may simply be ones that the mass of mankind has not yet experienced. "I will let emotion and feeling have all the play I can in my characters. But you must recollect that there is distinction even in emotion and passion; and that the finer ones will not run through



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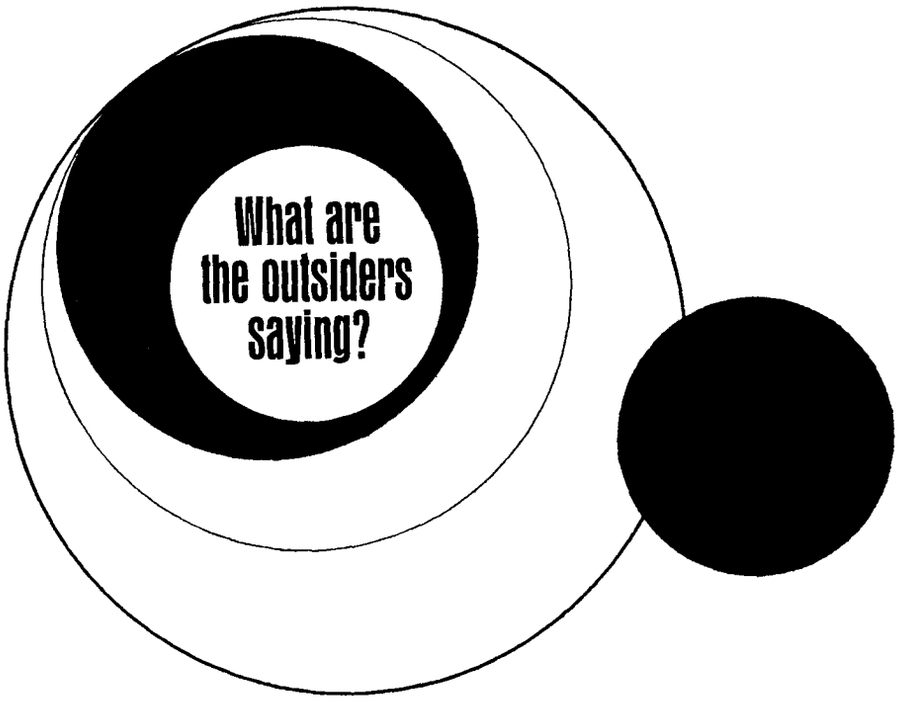
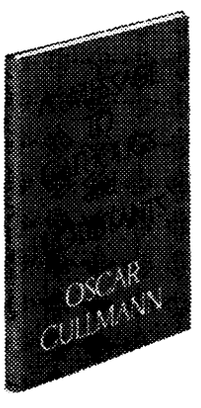
the well-worn channels of speech. They make new intellectual channels; and for some time these will appear so strange and artificial that it will be supposed they are incapable of conveying emotion."

Shaw is an epistolatory moral philosopher as well as a psychologist, arguing vehemently against making idols of "Truth," "Duty," "Self-sacrifice" and "Virtue." Taking his stand on the Benthamite principle that even the most exalted ideals must still be made to answer for their bad social consequences, he declares that the worst kind of scoundrel is the "conscientious, high-principled scoundrel."

But what the casual reader is less likely to grasp is that behind the attack on our "little trumpery moral systems," there is another, specifically religious, protest at work, the protest of the prophet against a society that presumes to clothe itself in the filthy rags of righteousness. This great-grandson of Voltaire laughs reason and logic to scorn, holding that behind Rationalism and Materialism is the same will-to-believe that sustains all other faiths, including his own faith in the "God that is not yet." And though he scourges salvationism at every turn, he still has an element of radical Christianity in him, so that, when he senses London's bloodlust is aroused by Jack the Ripper, he writes an astonishing letter to the *Star*, dissociating himself from the man-hunt, and signing it Jesus Christ. Then, to keep one actress friend from sliding downhill into alcoholism and drug addiction he characterizes another woman in terms an evangelical preacher might have used:

"But what is lacking in her, and in all the other women of her class one meets? Not brains: she is a clever woman. Not knowledge: it is impossible to mention anything she does not know. Not affection: she would respond gratefully enough to any tenderness shown her. Why, then, the frightful vacuity, the levity, the shallowness, the vulgarity, the pointlessness that makes me wish, in Richmond Park, I could have half an hour with the trees and earth and sky over the Thames Valley, half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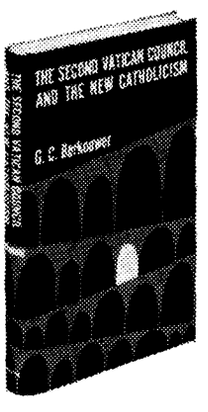


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an hour of comparatively deep communion? It must be that she has no religion. For the really religious people, you will have observed, are not empty. They have dignity, conviction, sobriety, and force. However impossibly narrow and stupid the mere articles of their creed may be, it is obvious that they are respectable, efficient, and able to do without happiness. And they can do extraordinary things, from early churchgoing to martyrdom."

To read Shaw's letters would be a recreative experience, if only for their liveliness, piquancy, drama, humor, and fancy. Shaw makes love, agitates for reform of the economic system and the laws on homosexuality, gives advice on how to buy a bicycle or write an opera libretto, provides illuminating comments on his own and other men's plays, and spins off hilarious *jeux d'esprit*—witness his letters in Cockney on the pulpit ferocity of a progressive bishop. But his letters go beyond this too, and provide their "cathedral" moments, occasions for reflection in the midst of the whirl of wit and argument, which allow us to understand what Shaw meant when he said he wanted to "write a big book of devotion for modern people." Fortunately, we have the aid of Mr. Laurence's indefatigable researches to help illuminate what is obscure in the references to people, places, and events in this splendid harvest. Indeed, so copious are Mr. Laurence's discoveries, that together they constitute virtually a new biography for these twenty-four years of a brimful life.


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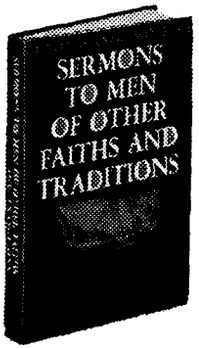


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## *Dictionary of the Bible*

JOHN L. Mc KENZIE, S.J.

*Bruce, $17.95*

**BRUCE VAWTER, C.M.**

Reviewing a dictionary is a recognized impossibility, if by reviewing one understands anything more than an appreciation of its performance along a few, more or less arbitrarily selected lines determined by the reviewer. The task is perhaps easier in the case of a dictionary like the present one, which is the work of one man. The writer has applied to it the best test he knows: keeping it handy on his shelf for first reference over a period of weeks and allowing chance to decide the articles to be consulted as reading and study go on. In practically every instance the dictionary passed the test well. It can be confidently recommended as likely to provide the average reader, and even the above-average reader, with most of the information he will want and need to read the Bible with understanding.

One of its strong points among many lies in its handling of Old Testament theological themes, an area in which its author is a recognized authority. If, by contrast, it has a weakness, it is dealing with the corresponding New Testament themes. New Testament development of some Old Testament topics (e.g., "Elijah," "Exodus") is often only minimally noted. In some instances an Old Testament concept which, for the Christian reader at least, is chiefly important for the light it sheds on New Testament theology, has pre-empted to itself the dictionary's main concern. For example, it may be doubted that "Avenger" is the best English rubric for a treatment of *go'el*, the concept that underlies the New Testament "redeemer." (Neither, of course, would "Redeemer" be the proper rubric; the dictionary does have an entry under "Redemption.")

A dictionary, even a one-man dictionary, is supposed to offer a scholarly consensus rather than personal views. The author, whose views on a number of disputed points are known and respected, has shown admirable restraint in handling articles which touch on these. The over-all effect is of a progressive conservatism which may stop short of what the lexicographer would have written in another capacity, but which has never compromised either facts or intellectual honesty. The reader might consult the articles on "Descent into hell" or "Possession" to find how well this balance has been achieved.

The dictionary's scholarship is quite up-to-date on factual details, such as archaeological evidence, chronology, and inscriptional materials, so far as the reviewer has been able to judge. Unfortunately, the very short articles which form a large part of any Bible dictionary and are probably the most consulted by the average reader, tend to be fairly much the same in all dictionaries. They often relate to the specialities of a very few scholars whose views are regularly reproduced by those whose own studies lie elsewhere. This

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### REVIEWERS

JOHN SIMON *is movie critic for the* New Leader *and drama critic for the* Hudson Review.

LOUIS CROMPTON, *a previous contributor, teaches English at the University of Nebraska.*

FATHER BRUCE VAWTER, C.M., *a member of the faculty at Kenrick Seminary, St. Louis, was formerly president of the Catholic Biblical Association of America.*



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fact may raise questions on the feasibility of multiplying Bible dictionaries in general. However, no one can fail to be impressed by the erudition and industry that have gone into this work of over 800,000 words. It is at least serviceable in all respects, and in many respects it is unique because of its author's unique talents.

From a technical point of view the dictionary is well got out. The type is clear and the format easy to read. The maps and charts are especially well done. Photographic illustrations have been judiciously chosen, though some of them have printed out too darkly, especially landscapes. There are hardly any typographical errors, except for a number of diacritical marks in transliterated words which obviously caused the typesetter much difficulty.

Though there will be no doubt in anyone's mind that this dictionary is a product of Roman Catholic scholarship, it is possessed of all ecumenism of good biblical study. Catholics themselves may often have to look twice for an entry that does not appear under a familiar rubric. There is, for example, no article with the title "Justice" or "Justification," and for "Charity" there is only a cross-reference to "Love." Spelling of proper names is "standard English," though in a few instances the "traditional" rather than the improved RSV form has been followed. Occasionally, but with no consistency, alternative spellings are introduced as cross-references, e.g., "Odollam" referring to "Adullam," but no "Abdia(s)" referring to "Obadiah" or "Osee" to "Hosea," etc.

## CORRESPONDENCE

(*Continued from page 651*)

5. "Who Came Over"—"The cream of a nation in exile" according to the Miami *Herald.*

6. ". . . .distinctly inferior socially." The only people who think this are the low income whites who feel threatened. Miami is different from the rest of the nation in that Spanish-speaking persons are welcomed at all levels of society.

7. "Job competition with local labor became and remains a serious issue." Not true. The number of jobs has increased by 48,300 since 1958. At the most 25,000 jobs are held by Cuban refugees. Some of the 48,300 new jobs can be traced to the presence of the 80,000 Cuban refugees here.

8. ". . .swift movement of the federal government. . ." First refugees arrived January 1, 1959. First Government aid for resettlement and unaccompanied children only in December 1, 1960. First financial assistance to Cuban refugees in Miami, March 1, 1961.

9. ". . . dovetailed its efforts with the agencies of the state. . ." To date the State of Florida has not authorized a single program for Cuban refugees except where the federal government has paid one hundred per cent of the tab.

10. "Resettlement of refugees in other cities to relieve local pressure has proved difficult. . . ." This is a matter of opinion. Before the present influx, many in Miami were getting worried that it had been entirely too successful and that it had taken out of the community many of those who had the most to contribute and left a hard core of welfare cases.

11. ". . . . a rise in delinquency and crime. . . ." This has been denied by all the competent authorities. There is not one iota of evidence to suggest this. But it must be admitted that many Cubans have little respect for traffic laws.

12. ". . . . property values have allegedly been driven down. . . ." The evidence is that the contrary has occurred. Whole sections, especially where the Cubans have concentrated have been rehabilitated. At times there has been some overcrowding, when Cubans already here have opened their homes freely to newly arrived friends and relatives until such time as they can get established.

13. ". . . . members of the Negro community show resentment. . . ." Negro groups have defended federal government action in welcoming refugees. Cuban Negroes have been more accepted than native Americans. On the


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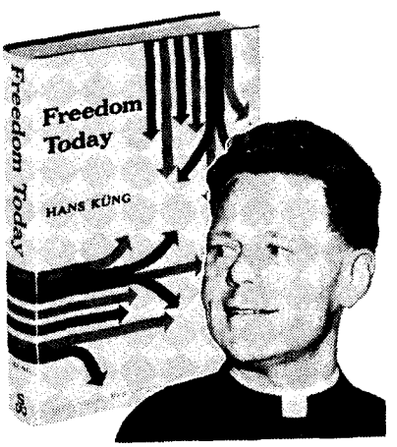


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other hand, this has paved the way for integration.

14. "And much has been done by the state. . ." What? Where? When?

15. "State. . . . relief programs have also been sustained and frequently quite flexible. . . ." What? Where? When?

16. ". . . . the potentialities of a permanent Cuban population has become increasingly attractive to men such as Mayor High. . . ." Mayor High has made it very clear that he wants Cubans resettled. His popularity with the Cubans has dropped to zero. The City of Miami has not initiated any program of aid for Cuban refugees.

Mr. Yearley's article does a real disservice to this community in that it reiterates many of the half-truths and in some cases completely erroneous opinions that circulate concerning the impact of Cuban refugees on the city of Miami.

Like any other rapidly growing community, we have our problems and our tensions. But it is our conviction that the presence of even large numbers of Cuban refugees has a positive effect in that it helps to focus attention on the real problems. (MSGR.) BRYAN O. WALSH

Chairman, Diocesan Commission
on Cuban Refugees
Diocese of Miami

### *Pioneer*

Washington, D.C.

*To the Editors:* I was pleased to note, in Father Mulligan's fine review of the Danforth Report ("The Catholic Campus Today," January 28), his appreciation of the advent of Ph.D. programs in theology at Fordham and Marquette. It can only be for the good.

It should, however, be pointed out in this connection that the Catholic University of America is a pioneer in the area of providing scholar-teachers for college theology faculties. The University's graduate program in religious education goes back to 1938; since 1960 some 15 Ph.D.'s have been awarded (including two to lay women).

I can only give strong assent to the desirability of university training in theology over seminary training. And I say this, not simply because the atmosphere is different—although that in itself can be a mighty factor. Rather, I say it because the orientation of the two institutions is quite different: The seminary or divinity school is necessarily oriented toward the work of the ministry; the university is oriented toward academic competence. A Ph.D. program in theology must come up to the doctoral standards of the rest of the university and to those of the accrediting associations. The degree of the "professional" school need not do so, although I am sure that some do. Thus it can very well happen that a professional degree in the sacred sciences can represent a lower level of scholarly attainment than the university Ph.D.

EDWARD J. FOYE

### *Religion in College*

Iowa City, Ia.

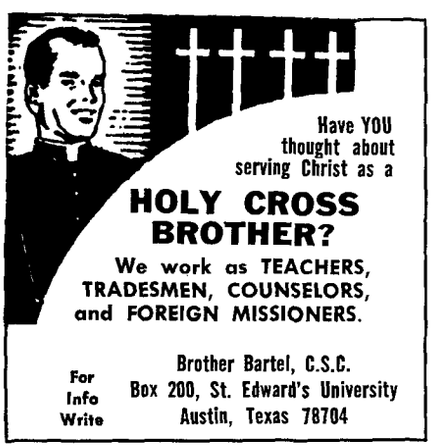
*To the Editors:* William Doane Kelly in "What is a Catholic College" (January 28) proposes an experimental Religious Studies program for a Catholic college—a three-hour per semester program of 24 hours in four years. I was surprised to see him elaborate almost precisely what the School of Religion offers here at Iowa. We have a four-hour Core course for freshmen that begins with Wach on Comparative Religion and studies Hinduism, Buddhism, Judaism, the Muslims, Protestantism (both classical and liberal), Catholicism, and even a bit of Naturalistic Humanism. The second semester studies the influence of religion in culture, that is, in fiction, drama, history, psychology, sociology, ethics, a bit of primitive religion and anthropology.

For sophomores there are survey courses taught in the Old Testament and New Testament. Upper classmen can take courses in the history of theology (two semesters), Aquinas, Luther, subsequent Protestant and Catholic theology, recent Protestant and Catholic theology, Church and State in America, and religious psychology. There are also courses in introductory Catholic theology, Church history (two semesters), Moral Problems, and the Social Encyclicals, plus advanced New Testament and Old.

The program is called Religious Studies. The department is not integrated with others, not even philosophy. It is not pastoral in any sense; it is considered an intellectual discipline. The faculty has Jews, Protestants and Catholics who interchange at times.

A recent issue of *Time* seems to predict the spread of such programs on state and secular campuses. If this comes about, one might wonder, especially if Catholic colleges took Mr. Kelly's counsel, if he answered his question "What is a Catholic College?" Certainly its teaching of religion would not distinguish it.

I have doubts about such religious programs here or there, at Iowa or at Sacred Heart in the Woods. Without serious consideration of Greek philosophy at least after studying the Bible, a student of the history of Christian theology has a terrible time getting beneath the superficial surface. Even modern Bible studies profit from the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sophisticated intellectual distinguishing bequeathed by the Greeks; nor are the sciences and/or arts of critical history and literary analysis disciplines that were never born but "just growed." In other words serious study of Christian theologians is almost a graduate discipline, as most Catholic colleges have apparently felt. At least that feeling has been one consideration for making their theology programs pastoral in purpose. We shall not mention their failure or success in making it truly pastoral.

Most of what Mr. Kelly said about Catholic colleges as Catholic institutions finds my whole-hearted agreement. It is just that I do not see how a Catholic college as college, if it adopts his theology program, can expect to turn out men who are different, different from graduates of Iowa. Maybe the difference is that Catholic colleges make religion courses required and all have to take them or leave. Iowa does not, and cannot. Consequently only a tiny minority take more than two semesters of the Core course. The difference then boils down to the fact that Catholic colleges are perfect instruments for getting a lot of theology studied, whatever be the value of the courses offered.

RICHARD J. ROLWING
Graduate Assistant
School of Religion
State University of Iowa

### "A Bias for the New"

Spokane, Wash.

*To the Editors:* Since my seminary days I have been a quite faithful follower of COMMONWEAL. In pre-Johannine days the numbers of the clergy interested in a lay point of view were meager and, hence, one was a bit different if he were caught engaged in the urging and cultivation of such independence.

I was taken aback recently to hear a priest-friend of mine, and a very liberal man, indeed, say that COMMONWEAL was hardening. It had developed its own party line. Its passion for the free had become a bias for the new. The *New Republic*, secular as it was, continued to make out a strong and vigorous case, for example, that help be rendered in justice to independent schools or independent parents who chose "otherwise" for their children. Not COMMONWEAL. In fact, overcompensation, that quality by which we become more like them than they are, is becoming the chronic virtue of many a Christian liberal whose instincts remain sound, but whose judgments are often suspect. Your recent issue on education (January 28) confirms my fears.

No one can quarrel with the suggestions of both your editorial writers and the authors who penned the recent issue on Catholic higher education when they urge declericalization. It is on the way. In a school like Gonzaga University in Spokane with 2200 students, 57 Jesuits and 111 lay professors, the layman now commands the jobs of Development Director, Treasurer, Dean of Engineering, Dean of Law, Dean of Education and Dean of Business. They are chairmen in 11 of the 17 departments. They sit in considerable numbers on all committees, the Academic Council and the University Senate.

Nor is the case atypical. Oh, I'm sure that among many small Catholic Colleges, the preponderance of the religious and even authoritarian directorship may abound, but in most of the larger, the more mature and contemporary institutions a healthy balance, if not a lay majority, holds sway in both numbers and influence.

Mr. William Kelly (bringing what practical experience I question from a seminary in Vermont as his principal milieu and platform) suggests strongly that we begin the great overhaul by removing religious as presidents of the Catholic colleges and universities. . . .

1) Have the authors of the articles or the editors of the magazine ever heard of the right of ownership? What it means to receive a trust, a legacy from our forebears? Is the answer to this abuse, or that, abdication of control? If the fathers of the Holy Cross congregation, as a family, much the same in business as the Ford Motor Company or the New York *Times*, aim to pass on into the hands of others


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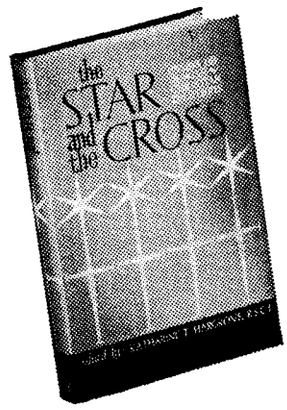


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(perhaps very good hands, which is not the point), a treasure which is theirs—Notre Dame—who should say no? How can the editors so blithely presume that a school in religious hands cannot serve the public interest? This is monolithic, stereotyped thinking in classic profile.

2) Does COMMONWEAL really think that administrative skill, acceptance in the community or the authority to wisely govern wears any particular habit at all? A Roman collar, a necktie, a nun's bib or a grey flannel suit? I have felt, watching college presidents, that effectiveness or ineptness sat upon various shoulders with remarkable neutrality. That there are people who feel as Professor Kelly does, I do not doubt. That a perodical of COMMONWEAL'S stature should have no one to present the "other side" is journalistically almost unforgivable. . . .

3) What kind of, shall I say, narrow doctrinairism (yes, I shall say it) prompts a professor of theology to feel, implicitly and explicitly, that religion is taught only in religion classes, that God's revelation is coextensive with Holy Scripture? He should read some of Teilhard de Chardin. God speaks in geometry, a molecule, Shelley's lyrics and the plays of Tennessee Williams. Newman, with his cosmic vision, saw this over a century ago, when he wrote The Idea of a University. It is an idea which the editors might do well to familiarize themselves with.

4) What makes John Leo, whose voice is becoming more shrill, and therefore less authoritative with the passing months, maintain that the answer to an educational problem anywhere is a vote? Is he really so naive that he feels (I shall have to use a cliché) that democracy is a panacea? The principle of unity still is one. Barring that rare event in human affairs, unanimity—good order is eventually made operative through authority. There is no demonstrably best way to handle a hundred daily contingencies. To prevent impasse, someone even at the risk of misjudgment must judge.

A curriculum is many things and one thing. Eventually, when all the specialists have spoken about what courses should be and not be, some one or some few must weigh changes, take note of tradition, of aims, of the value of both experiment and the tried and true. St. John's has been, for example, the butt of much criticism, much unwarranted generalization and some quite warranted, I am sure. But what people like John Leo, quite predictably, want is that the Vincentians turn over the school to the "workers." . . .

Mr. Leo may latch onto that and consider it a typically aristocratic comeback; I may be cast as an enemy of progress, participation and co-responsibility. To which I respond ahead of time, "no such thing." For among the few basic theories of government which have stood the test of the ages is the one I'm talking about. Someone, who isn't everyone, is in charge. The director of the symphony holds the baton, the quarterback calls the signals and all that. This is quite independent again of whether the prexy happens to be


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religious or otherwise. Knowledgeable relevance, it seems to me, is so important before verdicts are returned.

5) What makes the editors feel that all decisions of which the people are not immediate and direct party are paternalistic? Another term tossed about with abandon. Lyndon Johnson, John Kennedy and Harry Truman decided on many things which would otherwise have remained undone. Only a child rants against the sane employment of authority as an instrument of order in any complex gathering.

6) Are the writers in COMMONWEAL aware of, and I would add, sympathetic to the immense changes occurring in Catholic higher education? When Mr. James O'Gara, the managing editor of COMMONWEAL spoke here at Gonzaga recently, many felt that his picture of the scene was bleak, unduly so. Father Neil McCluskey, S. J., our academic vice-president, took gentle but firm exception to the tendencies in his thinking toward a 1949 indictment of a 1965 situation. Only an impression, but one which more and more of us share about COMMONWEAL. . . .

(REV.) JOHN P. LEARY, S.J.
President, Gonzaga University

### *"The New Morality"*

Forth Worth, Tex.

*To the Editors:* Regarding your January 14 issue on "The New Morality," I find I am left with many doubts and questions, especially in regard to Dr. Fletcher's statements on situationists. There seems to be, as in so many ideas expressed today, a certain amount of truth, surrounded and limited by erroneous assumptions and conclusions.

First of all, I heartily agree that every act should be motivated by a true concern for the persons involved, as well as the human race in general. According to the situationist's view, there is no evil in a transient adulterous affair, if they feel a deep love (caring for in a tender, self-giving way), a commitment to each other. This is fine for the moment, but what about the future? What if Jack stops loving Jill, but Jill cannot end this liaison, without being seriously hurt? What about that very basic desire and human instinct to perpetuate the love between man and woman with a child? When there is real love (not just attraction and physical desire) which seems to be a requisite for such an action (as adultery or fornication) to the situationist, there is also the desire to propagate. Say, we take care of this temporarily by making the partners in this liaison a married woman and a bachelor. She desires this man's child because she really loves him, and he really loves her; to her great joy, she becomes pregnant with his child. Even though the husband may never find out, and the child has the outward appearance of natural parents and home, can this woman, separated from the man she loves and constantly reminded of him by their child, continue to live a life of deception without any ill effects? Wouldn't her adulterous act result in an unending chain of unhappiness for her, her innocent husband and children?

Maybe the situationist might suggest divorce for the above example. Do they not consider sexual union in a loveless marriage more evil than adultery with love? A divorce might be most desirable to the husband, wife and her lover, but what about her children? Can anyone deny that children are deeply hurt and permanently affected by a broken home? Does not the break-up of any home affect the whole human family by creating a feeling of insecurity and distrust in the basic unit of human relations, the family? No action involving persons affects just one or two, but the whole human family of men.

Trial marriages might be all right, if men were made as animals without memory and intellect, but because man and woman have memory and intellect, trial marriages can do nothing but create false illusions about marriage. If the later permanent marriage didn't prove so romantic, as the trial marriage, or when things became routine, tiresome, the thrill gone, and children to care for, they would decide they "goofed" in their choice of a partner, and cast this marriage aside, as they did previous trial marriages.

Indeed the Commandments were not meant to be followed legalistically; "God is not a spy in the sky," waiting to condemn us for not being Pharisees. What we must realize, and understand with the powers He gave us to reason with, whether we be Catholic, Protestant or Jew, is that the Commandments were given to us, not merely as laws to be obeyed (as tests of our obedience), but as guides for a happy life here as well as hereafter. How can a creature think he is wiser than his Creator, Who is also a loving Father to all of His human creatures?

If this thought is too sentimentally sweet for modern, sophisticated, intelligentsia to accept, may I challenge them to show any action against the basic principles of the Commandments that would prove more beneficial to mankind than by following the principles of the Commandments, as meant by God.

Let us consider Dr. Fletcher's example of the woman returned to her family because of an adulterous pregnancy, which has the situationists' approval because it is good that she was released from prison and could go back to her family. What about the psychological effects of this action? What about the child? What about the example to her daughters – will they believe their bodies are the means to greater social advantages, as in the other example of permissable adultery, as cited by Dr. Fletcher? Can a husband respect a wife who has used her body for bartering, as one might use any material object? Certainly, there was no love or personal commitment in such acts of adultery. How can the situationists use these as examples without contradicting their previous statement of the necessity of love between the persons concerned in a sex liaison?

As for the story of Judith in the Old Testament, even if we take it somewhat literally, we can hardly expect people living in the twentieth century, who have been enlightened by the coming of Christ, to behave in a similar manner, to those people living in darkness.

"The New Morality" reeks of impetuousness; evidently their theme song is, "There's no tomorrow, there's just today."

REGINA S. DRISCOLL



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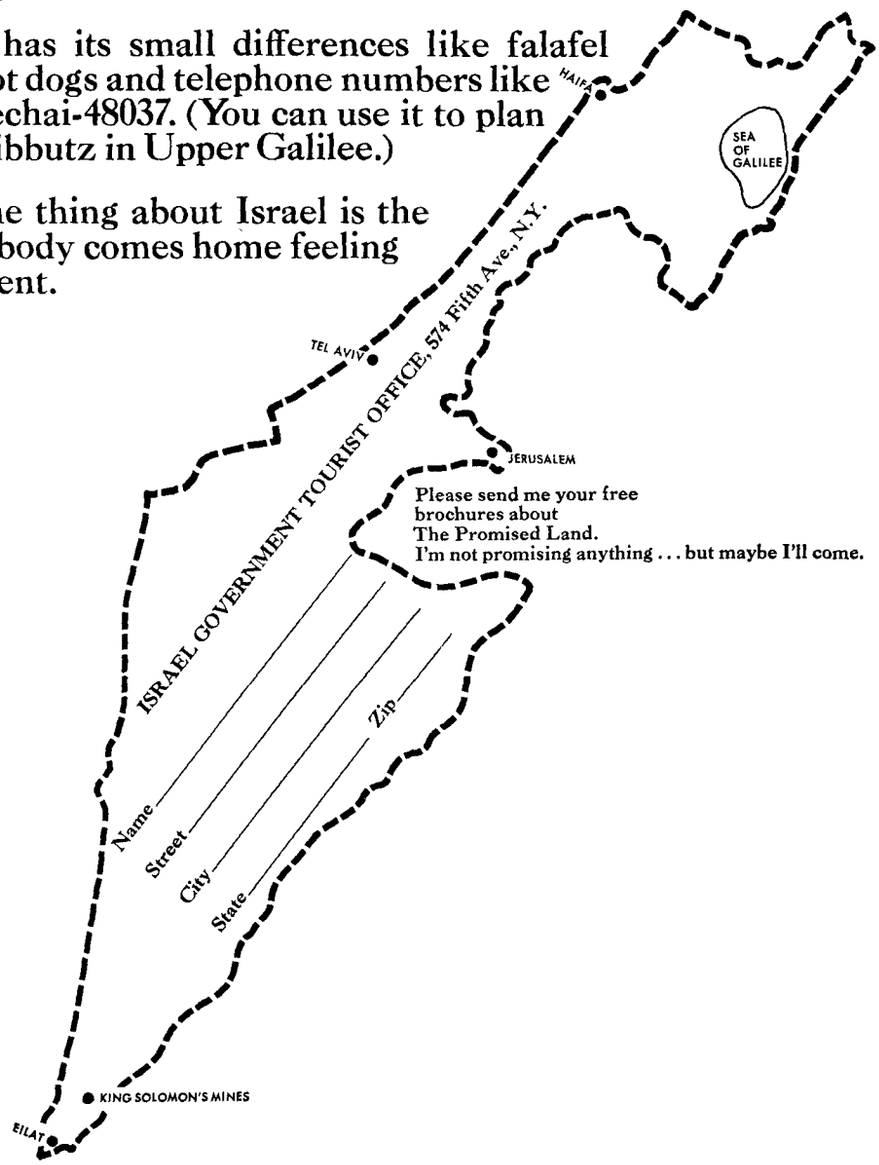


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